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FBIS-EEU-90-174 CONTENTS *7 September 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Alia on Electoral Law, Foreign Policy *[ATA]* ... 1
Young Workers 'Tempted by Foreign Life-Styles' *[ZERI I RINISE 1 Sep]* ... 3

BULGARIA

Sofia Prosecutor on Arson, Other Investigations *[Sofia Radio]* ... 4
    Call for Collective Effort *[BTA]* ... 4
Militia Granted Additional Power in Crowd Control *[Sofia Radio]* ... 4
    For Use Only if 'Physical Force' Fails *[BTA]* ... 5
Lukanov: Law Enforcement Only Peace 'Guarantee' *[BTA]* ... 5
'Marxist Alternative' Urges BSP Congress Delay *[DUMA 3 Sep]* ... 5
Newsprint Price Increase Said Threatening Papers *[TRUD 5 Sep]* ... 6
Interview With Ex-Tsar's Family Not Broadcast *[BTA]* ... 6
Unknown Persons Raise Turkish Flag in Varna *[BTA]* ... 6
Beron Consults Japanese Politicians in Osaka *[BTA]* ... 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Views Current Czechoslovak Issues *[Prague Radio]* ... 7
Calfa Meets Coexistence Movement Members *[CTK]* ... 7
Survey on Constitutional Arrangement of State *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 29 Aug]* ... 7
Assembly Adopts 3 Reform Bills *[CTK]* ... 8
Socialist Party Split Anticipated *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 27 Aug]* ... 8
Possible Coalition Partners for Social Democracy *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Aug]* ... 9
'Right-Wing' Political Party Established *[CTK]* ... 9
8,000 Soldiers Discharged This Year *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Aug]* ... 9
    Majority of Army Leadership Replaced *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 10
Ministry Official on Unemployment in the CSFR *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 29 Aug]* ... 10
'Economic Initiative' Proposal Sent to Havel *[Bratislava Radio]* ... 11
New Body for Economic, Social Policies Established *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 29 Aug]* ... 11
Hungarian Minority Group Rejects Planned Laws *[NARODNA OBRODA 27 Aug]* ... 11
Foreign Minister Discusses Slovak Issues *[CTK]* ... 12
Havel Talks with Slovak News Media *[NARODNA OBRODA 25 Aug]* ... 12
Dienstbier Interviewed on Slovak Issues *[Prague Radio]* ... 15
Slovak Premier Hints at Government Changes *[NARODNA OBRODA 29 Aug]* ... 16
Meciar Said To Be Adopting Nationalist Views *[Hanak in LIDOVE NOVINY 29 Aug]* ... 17
Commentary Rejects Czech Criticism of Meciar *[Cibula in NARODNA OBRODA 30 Aug]* ... 17
More on Results of Slovak Parliament Session *[NARODNA OBRODA 28 Aug, etc.]* ... 18
Platform for Uniting Slovak Non-Communist Left *[NARODNA OBRODA 27 Aug]* ... 19
Slovak Assembly Approves Local Government Bill *[Bratislava Radio]* ... 19
Slovak Republic Plans Own Television Service *[Prague TV]* ... 20
Comparison of Slovak Ministers Appointed *[NARODNA OBRODA 30 Aug]* ... 20
Czech Premier Replies to Criticism of Government *[CTK]* ... 20
Czech Government Approves Economic Reform Plan *[CTK]* ... 21
Prague TV Transmitter To Begin Testing *[Prague Radio]* ... 22
Solidarity's 10th Anniversary Noted in Prague ... 22
    Havel, Diestbier Attend Ceremony *[PAP]* ... 22
    Jaruzelski, Havel Favor Open Border *[CTK]* ... 22
    Leaders, Ambassador at Gathering *[Prague Radio]* ... 22
    Joint Rally for Open Border *[CTK]* ... 23

Deputy Premier Vales Explains USSR Trade Pact *[Prague Radio]* 23
  More on Trade Agreement *[Prague TV]* 24
New Ways Sought To Increase Soviet Oil Supply *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 29 Aug]* 25
Dubcek Receives Visiting U.S. Senators *[CTK]* 25
Joint Communications Venture With U.S. Firms *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 24 Aug]* 25
Jeszenszky, Dienstbier at Prague Press Briefing *[CTK]* 25
OF Welcomes Iraqi Students' Call For Solidarity *[CTK]* 26
Canadian Revenue Minister Meets Leaders 26
  Talks With President Havel *[Prague Radio]* 26
  Received by Dubcek *[CTK]* 26
  Confers With Slovak Premier *[CTK]* 26
Deputy Defense Minister Ends FRG Visit *[CTK]* 27
Delegation in Sweden for Environment Conference *[CTK]* 27
Three Parties Accepted as EDU Members *[LIDOVE NOVINY 31 Aug]* 27
Army General Chief of Staff Visits Belgium *[cross-reference]* 27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Thuringian Miners Strike, Stay Underground *[ADN]* 28
New Forum Calls for Decentralizing Stasi Files *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 4 Sep]* 28
Stasi Occupiers Send Letter to FRG's Suessmuth *[ADN]* 28
Ullmann Warns Against Demanding U.S. Rights *[ADN]* 28
De Maiziere To Visit Switzerland 10 Sep *[Hamburg DPA]* 28

HUNGARY

Last Four Political Prisoners Released *[Budapest Radio]* 29
Resolution on Secret Service Submitted *[MTI]* 29
Parliament Approves Bill on Office of Mayor *[MTI]* 30
Fund To Support Election Candidates Established *[MTI]* 30
Former MSZMP Head on Current Situation *[NEPSZABADSAG 1 Sep]* 30
Entrepreneurs Federation Fears Financial Burdens *[Budapest Radio]* 31
Bank Official 'Rules Out' Forint Devaluation *[Budapest Radio]* 31
Komondor Special Commando Brigade Reorganized *[NEPSZABADSAG 31 Aug]* 31
Former Internal Security Leaders Indicted *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Hungarian President Speaks at CSFR Embassy *[LIDOVE NOVINY 27 Aug]* 32
Goncz Receives Spanish Foreign Minister *[MTI]* 32
Economic Cooperation Talks Held With Sweden *[MTI]* 32
Rozental Leads Mexican Delegation to Hungary *[MTI]* 33
Reportage on Jeszenszky Visit to UK *[cross-reference]* 33

POLAND

Mazowiecki Urges Rethinking of Reliance on State *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 2 Sep]* .. 34
Bujak, Frasyniuk View Electoral Code, Solidarity *[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 2 Sep]* 35
ROAD Views Presidential Elections, Constitution *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 3 Sep]* 40
Walesa: Solidarity Logo Only for Trade Union *[PAP]* 41
Walesa Meets Gdansk Mayor, City Council *[PAP]* 41
Falling Credit Rating of Firms Reported *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 1-2 Sep]* 41
Stelmachowski on Unconstructive Agriculture Policy *[PAP]* 42
Senate Views Agriculture, Warsaw Police *[PAP]* 42
Senate Committee Discusses Eastern Policy *[PAP]* 43
Katyn Files To Be Opened to Polish Authorities *[PAP]* 43
Delegation Back From Soviet Human Rights Meeting *[PAP]* 43
Onyszkiewicz Meets Leaders of London Poles *[PAP]* 43
Towns Group Critical of Soviet Military Presence *[PAP]* 44

ROMANIA

* Iliescu: Communist Ties 'Radically Broken' *[DIMINEATA 10, 11 Aug]* 45
Government Officials Taken Hostage, Released *[Bucharest Radio]* 49
Original National Peasants Party Set Up Again *[ADEVARUL 30 Aug]* 50
PNT-cd Calls for Union of Opposition *[ROMPRES]* 50

PNL Communique Calls for 'Concerted' Opposition *[Bucharest Radio]* 51
PNL-Youth Wing, Cluj Democratic Party Merge *[ROMPRES]* 51
Moldavian Antitotalitarian Forum Branch Set Up *[ROMPRES]* 51
    PSDR To Join Confederation *[ROMPRES]* 51
Vatra Romaneasca Opposes Ethnic School Separation *[ROMPRES]* 51
Zamfir on Market Economy, Pluralist System *[ROMPRES]* 52
Society Studying Transition to Market Economy *[ROMPRES]* 52
Senate Discusses Trade Register Bills, Companies *[ROMPRES]* 52
* Minister Stoica on Inflation, Unemployment *[ROMANIA LIBERA 8 Aug]* 52
* Possible Convertibility of Leu Discussed *[LUMEA AZI 16 Aug]* 54
* Speculation, Dishonesty in Pricing Viewed *[DREPTATEA 19 Aug]* 56
* Sugar Rationing by FSN Deplored *[DREPTATEA 18 Aug]* 57
Laws To Be Put Forward by Justice Ministry *[ROMPRES]* 58
Enquiry Commission To Hear Jiu Valley Miners *[ROMPRES]* 58
Mayor Meets University Square Representatives *[ROMPRES]* 58
Brasov Trial of Former Communists Resumes 5 Sep *[ROMPRES]* 59
Government Views Monetary Loss in Gulf Embargo *[Bucharest Radio]* 59
Finland's Holkieri Statements Called 'Regrettable' *[ROMPRES]* 59
Iraqi-Romanian Friendship Delegation on Visit *[ROMPRES]* 59
Chebeleu Discusses Applications To Emigrate *[ROMPRES]* 60
    Views Ecological Dispute With Bulgaria *[ROMPRES]* 60
Roman Statement After Talks With U.S. Official *[ROMPRES]* 61
Roman Meets Council of Europe Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 62
    Martian Receives Officials *[ROMPRES]* 62
Roman Meets PRC Military Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 62
Roman Meets South Korean TV President *[ROMPRES]* 62
Trade Officials Talk With Swedish Businessmen *[ROMPRES]* 62

YUGOSLAVIA

Ambassador Leaves Kuwait Embassy 'Under Pressure' *[Belgrade Radio]* 63
    Reportedly Leaves for Amman *[TANJUG]* 63
Loncar Thanked for Nonaligned's Role in Crisis *[TANJUG]* 63
'Billions of Dollars' in Loses From Iraqi Boycott *[TANJUG]* 63
Council of Europe Delegation Meets in Belgrade 63
    SFRY Expresses Desire To Join *[Belgrade Radio]* 63
    Jovic Receives Council Delegation *[Belgrade Radio]* 63
    Requirements Expected To Be Met *[TANJUG]* 64
Loncar Calls for Help to Least-Developed Nations *[TANJUG]* 64
Helsinki Delegation Views Departure From Kosovo *[Vienna Radio]* 64
    Government Spokesman Comments *[TANJUG]* 65
'Disciplinary' Action Against Albanian Strikers *[TANJUG]* 65
Rugova on U.S. Senators' Visit, Kosovo Situation *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 2 Sep]* 65
Constitutional Court Studies Proposal on Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 66
Kosovo SAWP Dismisses Several Officials *[TANJUG]* 66
Kosovo Democratic Alliance Registers as Party *[Zagreb Radio]* 67
Deadline Set for Return of Arms in Croatia *[Belgrade Radio]* 67
Croatian Presidency Issues Communique on Knin *[TANJUG]* 67
Croat 'Civil Defense Youth Units' To Be Founded *[BORBA 31 Aug]* 67
Croatian, Serbian Party Representatives Meet *[BORBA 31 Aug]* 68
Party Reaction to Draft Serb Constitution Viewed *[Belgrade Radio]* 68
'Democratic Freedom Party' Issues Election Appeal *[TANJUG]* 69
Slovene Government Halts Republic Defense Funding *[TANJUG]* 69
Rupel Says Slovenia Favors Confederal Alliance *[TANJUG]* 70
Slovene 'Representation' To Open in Moscow *[TANJUG]* 70
ZSMS-Liberal Party Not in 'Shadow Government' *[TANJUG]* 70
Macedonian Assembly Adopts Proposed Amendments *[TANJUG]* 71
Macedonian Government Criticizes Tupurkovski *[TANJUG]* 71
Markovic Meets With Leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 71
Mesic Discusses New Post in Federal Government *[VECERNJI LIST 30 Aug]* 71
'Alliance of Reform Forces' Meets in Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 73

Alia on Electoral Law, Foreign Policy

AU0709121390 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 7 Sep 90

["Democratisation of The Political System—Continuation of the Party's Program—Meeting of Comrade Ramiz Alia With Activists and Elected to the Socio-Organisations"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 6 (ATA)—The first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, met at the Presidium of the People's Assembly on September 6 morning with leaders, activists and elected to the mass central organisations, of the Democratic Front, the trade unions,the Women's Union, the Youth Union, the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, the Academy of Sciences, the Writers' and Artists' League, the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana, and of the Journalists' Union of Albania.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the party Central Committee, Comrades Foto Cami and Xhelil Gjoni.

The meeting discussed on the activity of the mass organisations concerning the implementation of the decisions of the recent plenums of the party Central Committee and of the measures adopted by the party for the further democratisation of the whole life of the country and the problems preoccupying them. The numerous participants that took the floor spoke also on the problems emerging in the practice of the implementation of the new economic mechanism, of the laws and ordinances approved recently by the People's Assembly in the field of legislation, for the reorganisation of services and handicrafts, the democratisation of the inner life in enterprises and institutions etc., as well as on the ways to overcome the difficulties arising which are quite natural.

After listening to the opinions and suggestions of the participants in the meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia assessed the contribution of the mass organisations to cope with the current situations.

As always, he said, it has been and is our fundamental duty to consolidate the moral-political unity of the people, to make clear the situations we are in and to mobilize the masses to face the requirements of the time. The situation at home is sound. Neither events like those of July 2, instigated by the enemies, nor the weather difficulties we are facing can shake it.

We must draw lessons from everything. We should take into consideration reality, the successes and shortcomings, especially the shortcomings and improve the work. Let us multiply the efforts at work to attain even higher results. The drought is damaging us a great deal. It is not only the question of the electric power, but agriculture, export, too, are affected and consequently, import too will be affected. How will these difficulties be overcome? The government will make efforts not to leave industry without raw material and the people without food. Everywhere, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued, attention is focused on the implementation of the decisions of the recent plenums of the Central Committee for the democratisation of the country's life in all directions.

It is common knowledge that these decisions, which are a demand of the time, necessity of the further socialist growth and progress of the country, aim at enlivening the economy, by enhancing the initiative and increasing the material interest of the working people, by consolidating the economic management and implementing the economic laws. They aim at improving the social relations, enhancing the role of the masses, improving the relations of the individual with the state and so on and so forth.

The measures for introducing the new economic mechanism, for the reorganisation of the handicrafts and services, the granting of cattle and land to the peasantry, the growth of market's supply, the foreign investments have served and serve these ends. The changes in our legislation, the law on issuing passports, the creation of the Ministry of Justice etc. are linked with it.

The implementation of the said measures is not at all smooth. There are hindrances and difficulties, which are comprehensive. The measures adopted during the last six months are advanced in relation to the formation of our people, the hitherto practice, their psychological training. They affect the existing rules and instructions, that should be corrected, they seek new laws and ordinances to be adapted to the new relations, they upset the tranquility of certain offices, but also the bureaucratic routine of the managers of the enterprises or party and power organs, who have to change a great deal their method of work.

Without combating red-tape, without being freed from the old management complexes, without enhancing the demands of discipline at work beginning with the cadres and without intensifying the control, the hindrances we are coming across cannot be eliminated.

It is in these directions that the improvement of the work of socio-organisations, the animation of the role of the public opinion and masses' criticism are required.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, is elaborating the law on elections, to be forwarded for approval at the next session of the People's Assembly. This law aims at further democratizing not only the election procedure but also at paving the road to the improvement of the political system, the functioning of elected organs, the improvement of relations between them and apparatuses, the animation of the role and independence of sociopolitical organizations, etc.

The draft law on elections, before forwarded to the People's Assembly, will be presented to your organizations in order to discuss, complete, amend it so as to better reflect the opinion of our entire society.

I may tell you beforehand that as until now, it is expected that the law will guarantee the participation in elections, the right of all citizens to be elected except those who are expressly deprived of this right by law. In the course of elections the voters will be guaranteed the secrecy of voting and for every precinct there will be forwarded two candidatures.

Likewise the way of presenting the candidatures for deputies will improve, further democratizing this process. We uphold that the candidates for deputies be presented by the organizations of the Party of Labour of Albania, those of the Democratic Front ones, as well as separately or together the trade unions, the Women's Union, the Youth Union and the veterans organization, the Writers' League, the Academy of Sciences and the Journalists' Union. Hence, the next People's Assembly will represent and express better the will and convictions of all categories of the population.

Besides, the new law will also sanction what occurs in our practice, that is the electors themselves, in their meetings enjoy the right of forwarding candidatures. Likewise, it will allow that even a person enjoy the right to forward candidature for deputy suffice not to have a program inspired by fascist and anti-national ideas.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some questions of the foreign policy.

We laid down a series of problems at the 10th plenum, related to some new directions of our foreign policy as well as with some new forms of work of our diplomacy to realize them. As always the aim was that under the new conditions to maintain as well as possible the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our homeland, the people's power and socialism in Albania.

The policy we defined and the diplomatic steps we took, as those regarding our participation in the Helsinki process, the recognition of the European Common Market and readiness to establish contacts with it, the initiative for diplomatic relations with the United States of America and the Soviet Union, etc., refute the foreign propaganda, which aimed at presenting Albania as a country that wants its isolation because with us an anti-democratic, retrograde policy is allegedly pursued. The world public opinion began to crystallize and implant the idea that Albania is not the one as described by a certain propaganda, mainly the Yugoslav one, but a country that marches on its road of democratization and that deserves to be respected by the international community.

Under these circumstances, certain anti-Albanian circles, when seeing that the ground on which they based their propaganda and diversionist activity demolished, changed tactics. But this was an improvised tactics and not calculated to the end. They decided to make use of our changes and this time to displace their foreign pressure inside Albania.

They tried to make use of cases when the new forms of democracy are not clear from the conceptional point of view for different people. Such was the case of the desire and impatience of a backward stratum of the urban youth "to see the world" and in order to realize it within one day, accepted to perform the ugliest deed, to turn the back to the homeland.

There were forces, particularly external ones, who strove to make use of the entry of Albanian citizens into the foreign embassies, who tried to leave our country in an irregular and illegal way, in order to hinder the process of democratization initiated by the party which aroused a positive repercussion in the world, to undermine that active diplomatic activity which we promoted and which strengthened Albania's position on the international arena.

The stand we adopted and the way how we solved the problem of embassies, by granting passports and cooperating with the UNO [United Nations Organization] made their plan suffer a defeat. But the bitter taste of the failure of this adventure did not and will not allow them to accept overtly and quickly the defeat. Therefore, in a way or another they will try to attack us again.

In fact they abroad are trying to spread a propaganda thesis that it was allegedly the Albanian policy that led to the events of the embassies, a policy which, according to them, runs counter to the norms of Helsinki.

All this will not yield and make us change our road.

Comrade Ramiz Alia Will Attend the Next Meeting of the UNO on Occasion of its 45th Anniversary

We have undertaken with conviction and determination the international actions we have made. They are not tactics in compliance to circumstances. Therefore, despite of whatever they write and speak, we will combat to forge ahead cooperation with the UNO, the international organisations and organisms, with all the foreign countries that accept dialogue and reason.

Precisely for this reason, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee have decided that I go to New York to the UNO meeting. This year it celebrates its 45th anniversary, and many heads of states from all over the world will take part in it.

We consider the participation of our head of state to such a high international assembly, such as the UNO, as a gesture confirming the Albanian policy for international ties and cooperation with all countries, according to norms and rules based on the UN Charter, as a step indicating that we are not only members, but also active participants of the UNO, that we wish to make our contribution as much as we can to the questions having to do with the preservation of peace and strengthening of security in the world.

At the end Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Let all of us be mobilized. Each in his own front and all together let us combat for the safeguard and flourishing of our beloved homeland, for the progress and emancipation of our people, for the democratization and economic development of the country's life, for the consolidation of freedom, independence and socialism in Albania.

Young Workers 'Tempted by Foreign Life-Styles'

AU0609142290 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 1 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[ZERI I RINISE correspondent's report: "National Aktiv of Young Workers"]

[Excerpts] A national aktiv of young workers was held on Thursday morning [30 Aug] in one of the halls of the Central House of the People's Army in the capital city. Youth Committee leaders from the districts and large combines and factories, youth activists, young people, and outstanding workers took part.

In the name of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth [AUWY], Mimoza Jazoj, secretary to the AUWY Central Committee, delivered a report on the topic of "A More Active and Militant Attitude of Young Workers to the Process of the Country's Democratization."

Comrade Mimoza Jazoj's report stressed that the process of democratization has entered every pore of our society's life. It has affected the country's economic, political, and social life, and the base and superstructure of society. [passage omitted]

Her report later stressed that work with young workers is now a matter of importance because of the place they occupy and the role they play as an active and creative force in society's entire life, their pervasive influence on other groups and especially rural young people, and also for another reason. In the events and situations through which our country is currently passing, a range of defects is evident in the character formation of young workers, which demands a thorough intensification of work with them. What are these defects and what has caused them? In the current situation, as a result of the general pressure the foreign and domestic enemy is exerting against us, illusions have been created among some of our young workers concerning the world and what they see on television screens. In the ethical and moral sphere, there have been signs of snobbery and cosmopolitanism among this category of young people, and there is a tendency to be tempted by foreign life-styles, ethical and aesthetic tastes, dress, behavior, and so forth. There is also a tendency to take more from society than we put in, which is reflected in work attitudes, absenteeism, failure to fulfill plans, and so forth. Furthermore, this phenomenon is linked to the involvement of a number of young workers in the events in the Tirana embassies.

We must seek the causes of these phenomena in certain features of the character formation and psychology of this category of young people.

It is well known that the overwhelming majority of the ranks of young workers is made up of young people with a low educational and cultural level. Their ranks are mainly filled with young people who have completed elementary or secondary school with very poor results. They therefore exhibit marked shortcomings in the formation of their weltanschauung and are predisposed to behavior which is unworthy of society. It is precisely some of these people who become involved in acts of vandalism and vagabondage, and they are the group most easily manipulated both ideologically and materially by the enemy.

Young workers in towns and large industrial centers are especially exposed to the enemy's propaganda, which acts through the radio and television, a campaign of rumors, and so forth.

Moreover, certain difficulties such as irregularities in production, shortages in material and technical supplies, and lack of jobs primarily affect young people, and these difficulties are compounded by young people's lack of experience of life and work habits. [passage omitted]

Sofia Prosecutor on Arson, Other Investigations

AU0609203490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] A news conference was held in Sofia today, at which Borislav Yotov, acting chief prosecutor of the City of Sofia, informed journalists on the progress of Case No. 53, connected with the arson at the party's building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

He announced that so far 14 [figure as heard] persons have been charged with theft of public property and looting, eight of whom have been taken into custody.

The journalists were briefed on the progress of the case against Ivan Slavkov, connected with his receipt of especially large sums of money, in excess of 10,000 leva. The investigation has been already concluded, and the case will either be returned to the lower level or be discontinued.

No date has been set for a general case against Ivan Slavkov's son Todor Ivanov Slavkov for the rape of two persons.

The journalists were also briefed on the case connected with the death of the woman television presenter [name indistinct]. After studying all the material evidence, it has been proven that she was not murdered, but committed suicide.

It was also announced that preliminary proceedings are being been set in motion for investigations into those Bulgarians guilty in connection with the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

The news conference also reviewed certain problems connected with the continuous increase in blackmarketeering and smuggling, measures for the restriction of which have already been adopted.

Call for Collective Effort

AU0609193990 Sofia BTA in English 1807 GMT 6 Sep 90

["Prosecutor General's Office Dampens Sleuth Enthusiasm of Political Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)—The Prosecutor General's Office today called on the political forces to cooperate in the investigation of the arson of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters in Sofia instead of conducting parallel investigations.

In a press release circulated today the Prosecutor's Office calls on the political and public organizations which have launched parallel investigations to submit all facts to the investigative authorities. The office observes that such investigations are legally invalid and can only stand in the way of the investigation and whip up social and political tensions in the country.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Union of Democratic Forces, the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and other organizations have said they intend to probe the incident on their own.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted against sixteen persons in connection with the arson and vandalization of the BSP headquarters. Eight of them were arrested on charges of arson, aggravated theft and damage to public property, Mr. Borislav Yotov, deputy prosecutor general of Sofia, told a news conference today. He pointed out that the investigative authorities are following "many leads," checking, among other things, the alleged existence of an organization that might have organized the arson, along with the other circumstances of the case.

Militia Granted Additional Power in Crowd Control

AU0609185890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] At a special session of the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs held today, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov presented Pencho Penev, the newly appointed minister of internal affairs, to the ministry's leading staff.

Andrey Lukanov stressed that at the present complex time for all of us, for Bulgarian society, and for the ministry, the appointment of a civilian minister, a lawyer by profession, is a decision which may assist the further restructuring of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its organs in accordance with the demands of the present stage of democratization and the building of a state adhering to the rule of law.

At the meeting, Andrey Lukanov outlined the priority nature of the problems connected with civil peace and public order and expressed the opinion that at the present time these problems even displace the economic problems, despite their severity. When we call upon the organs to carry out their constitutional duties, we must first and foremost support these organs and give them the opportunity to act, the prime minister stated, adding that an expression of this viewpoint are the addenda to the Regulations on Application of the Law on the People's Militia, approved by the Council of Ministers, which expand the range of means which the militia is permitted to use in their activity in particular conditions and situations. Here are more specific details about these addenda which we have just received from the Council of Ministers:

When dispersing of mass demonstrations which threaten or damage public order; citizens' health, rights, and liberties; or public or private property, the officers, sergeants, and other ranks of the People's Militia are given the right, in addition to the auxiliary means specified in the regulations, to use the following: water or air cannons; electric shock truncheons; light and audio apparatus with a blinding or flashing effect; blank cartridges, rubber, plastic, and shock bullets; safe chemical agents approved by the minister of public health and social welfare; and police dogs and horses, armored vehicles, and devices to force vehicles to stop.

These means may be used for the dispersal of prohibited or officially stopped meetings, rallies, and demonstrations.

The above-mentioned means are only to be used when attempts using normal physical force have failed, including the use of military combat techniques.

For Use Only if 'Physical Force' Fails

AU0609191590 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)—Water and air cannon, electric-shock batons, blank cartridges, rubber, plastic and stun bullets, dogs, horses and armoured vehicles will be available to the police for the control of civil disturbances which endanger or prejudice public order, citizens' rights and freedoms, and public or private property.

A Council of Ministers decree received in the BTA specifies that these "auxiliary devices can only be used when physical force, including martial arts, prove ineffective."

The officer in charge of the police action or his superior will be competent to order the use of these "auxiliary devices." When attacked, a policeman will have full discretion to use the auxiliary devices, the document says.

The decree, which amends the effective National Police Force Act enforcement regulations, authorizes the police to resort to the "auxiliary devices" in question when dispersing banned or discontinued meetings, rallies and demonstrations.

Riot control equipment includes "non-lethal chemical weapons, approved by the Minister of Public Health and Social Welfare, light and sound devices which cause temporary blindness or confusion," etc.

The decree was issued ten days after the inaction of the law-enforcement authorities in the arson of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's headquarters in Sofia by a rampaging crowd drew strong criticism from the political forces and the public.

Lukanov: Law Enforcement Only Peace 'Guarantee'

AU0609184090 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 6 Sep 90

["Bulgaria Ripe for Stricter Law Enforcement, Says Prime Minister Lukanov"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)—The way to avoid the use of force in handling "collision situations" was right, but only before August 26. The events on August 26 and 27 were a watershed after which the conduct, the prerogatives, the functions and the guarantees for the operation of the law-enforcement authorities cannot remain the same.

Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov assessed the arson and vandalization of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] headquarters in these terms, speaking today at a meeting of the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs at which the head of government introduced the new minister of internal affairs, Mr. Pencho Penev.

Mr. Lukanov said that Bulgarian society was ripe for a stricter enforcement of the laws and for the awareness that "the law is our only salvation." The strict and unswerving enforcement of the law, regardless of all partisan bias, is a guarantee of civil peace in the country, he emphasized.

The prime minister assigned priority to the problems concerning the maintenance of the civil peace and public order and observed that these problems now push into the background even the country's economic difficulties. He assured the management of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the resolute and consistent actions of the security forces, strictly within the law and with a heightened sense of responsibility, will be supported by the government, the Grand National Assembly and the public.

There are no political and ideological obstacles and no psychological barriers whatsoever to upgrade the status of the law-enforcement authorities, to provide them with up-to-date technical equipment and to tap the experience of the police forces in the highly advanced countries, Mr. Lukanov said.

'Marxist Alternative' Urges BSP Congress Delay

AU0509114890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Sep 90 p 2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report: "The 'Marxist Alternative' Proposes That the Congress Be Postponed"]

[Text] The forthcoming Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Congress should be postponed to the end of 1990, while only a meeting of delegates to the 14th congress should be convened in September 1990 for the adoption of respective decisions. This proposal was submitted yesterday by Professor Mitryu Yankov, chairman of the "Marxist Alternative" Movement, in his report to a conference of the movement discussing the BSP platform and statute.

The speaker argued that his proposal is based on the country's current sociopolitical situation which prevents normal partywide congress debates from being conducted. He accused the present BSP leadership of having committed mistakes and engaged in unjustified compromises. Attacks were also addressed against the Presidency of the Supreme Party Council for applying outdated bureaucratic methods of work.

The recently published BSP platform was also severely criticized. According to the participants in the discussion, the party's ideological profile is not clearly defined in the platform.

Prof. Mitryu Yankov declared as follows: The BSP leadership has evidently decided that the forthcoming congress should be devoted to the party's transformation into a social democratic party. Nevertheless, if the right-wing Social Democratic forces should prevail at the congress, this would result in the party's disintegration and promote its decline to a secondary political force. This should not be allowed, the speaker said.

As Stefan Zlatev, representative of the "Red Poppy" workers' clubs, stated, the BSP platform does not reflect the country's present socioeconomic situation. According to him, the platform was conceived for a party which is expected to work in Sweden rather than in Bulgaria.

The ensuing statements also expressed the opinion that the party's unity should be preserved. Closer contacts should be established between the various ideological currents within the BSP for this purpose, the speakers said.

The conference devoted particular attention to the acts of vandalism in connection with the recent arson attack on BSP headquarters. It was stressed that, despite the opposition's solemn declarations of distancing itself from this disgraceful act, the arson attack quite logically fits into the strategy of its "velvet revolution." Therefore, such declarations of distancing itself only increase the political hypocrisy and cynicism in the attitude of the Union of Democratic Forces. The president of the Republic was also accused of not having sufficiently contributed to prevent the arson. His resignation was repeatedly requested during the debates.

Newsprint Price Increase Said Threatening Papers

AU0609115090 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Sep 90 p 1

[Nikolay Zhukov report: "Do You Have Dollars?"]

[Text] Today the Bulgarian citizens are deprived of basic foodstuffs, but at least they have enough newspapers. However, it appears that this "privilege" is also coming to an end. This could happen not only because the price of newsprint will become too steep for some publishers, but also because the newspapers' subscription campaign was delayed. A real danger exists that most of the newspapers will have no subscribers during the first quarter of 1991. While this fact is not so "terrible" in the big cities, where newspapers can be purchased, the situation in the villages, where the newspapers are delivered, is serious.

Ventseslav Kotsev, chief director of the "Postal Communications" Department in the "Communications" Association said with concern that the new and still undetermined price of Bulgarian newspapers and magazines is the main reason for the delay. It is assumed that the annual subscription will exceed 100 leva. Until now only DEMOKRATSIYA and ZEMYA have set the price of their subscription.

There is justifiable concern about the publications of the former socialist countries. The interest in Soviet publications is decreasing, but still.... The admirer of the Soviet press should know that if he wants to renew his subscription he will have to pay in dollars. Last year the annual subscription for PRAVDA cost 3.80 rubles, while now the price of the annual subscription is $25.80! The Bulgarian press does not lag far behind, and in addition, what can we say about the price of scientific publications? The central scientific libraries will probably have to do without those publications. The solution to this situation could be found by the specialists of the Ministry of Finance. They could provide the necessary foreign currency.

On the other hand the FRG's huge Axel Springer Corporation has been "charitable" to Bulgarian readers and will continue to sell its five publications in exchange for Bulgarian leva throughout September. BILD can be purchased for three leva. Four additional newspapers can also be obtained.

Interview With Ex-Tsar's Family Not Broadcast

AU0609203990 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)—One of the most popular daily programmes of the Bulgarian radio did not go on the air today.

For the first time in eight years, the "Good Morning" show did not hit the airwaves because it was to broadcast an interview with the family of the former Bulgarian Tsar Simeon II, a radio journalist said on national television. "The interview scared our bosses," she said.

The radio journalists have called on the competent Grand National Assembly committee to consider the problem of the unjustified suppression of broadcasts.

Unknown Persons Raise Turkish Flag in Varna

AU0609204590 Sofia BTA in English 2021 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Sep (BTA)—Unidentified persons hoisted the Turkish national flag in front of the building of the former Turkish Consulate in the City of Varna on the eve of the anniversary of the unification of Bulgaria.

The competent authorities are investigating the case.

Beron Consults Japanese Politicians in Osaka

AU0609185190 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Petur Beron, the leader of the Bulgarian opposition, who is visiting Japan for the Osaka '90 world exhibition, today conferred with Mr. Yoshio Sakurauchi, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet. Mr. Beron emphasized that Bulgaria attaches great importance to its traditionally friendly ties with Japan. On behalf of the Japanese parliamentarians Mr. Sakurauchi expressed readiness to assist for Japanese help in overcoming the Bulgarian economic crisis. Mr. Beron briefed his host on the political situation in Bulgaria and expressed the opinion that Mr. Andrey Lukanov, who has been asked to form a government, will try to form a broad-based cabinet.

Later in the day the Bulgarian representative met with Mr. Shinya Toduka, chairman of the House of Representatives Environment Committee, who recently visited Bulgaria at the head of a Japanese parliamentarian delegation. Mr. Toduka pointed out that possibilities are considered now for the allocation of budgetary funds to comply with Bulgaria's request for aid to solve its environment problems. To this end, Bulgaria must submit specific projects.

Havel Views Current Czechoslovak Issues

LD0209143490

[Editorial report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 2 September carries a 30-minute recording of a regular interview with President Vaclav Havel, in its "Conversations at Lany" series. The interview took place in his cottage at Hradecek, and Havel notes how well he feels there.

Asked about the forthcoming period of work, Havel notes that the holiday period, with a certain political vacuum, is at its end now; the federal government adopted a blueprint for economic reform a few days ago and the parliament is about the begin its work. In this context, Havel says he plans to deliver a speech in parliament some time in September or October on the subject of the Federation.

Answering a question about his feelings on the anniversary celebrations of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica, which he attended, Havel stresses that he did not notice there any expressions of separatist tendencies or nostalgia for the Tiso regime. The celebrations showed the will of both our nations to live together in one state.

Asked about the reactions to his remarks about the need for a second revolution, Havel notes that the recent enormous increase in the volume of information in Czechoslovak mass media sometimes paradoxically leads to a situation where people are not really well-informed, as they lose track of important issues. In such a situation, it is difficult to avoid misunderstandings, and this is also the case in using the term of so-called "second revolution," which he never publicly used. What is clear is that we cannot stop with the political changes we achieved during the November events and which culminated in our free elections. Nowadays we are facing the task of rebuilding the entire power structure and implementing economic reform, he says.

Interviewer Jiri Vejvoda notes that Friday's issue of RUDE PRAVO published documents which in a way give an impression that the new regime is calling for some kind of purge. Havel explains that though there is a need for radical changes, this does not mean calling for the purges of the kind the Communists carried out in the post-1948 and 1968 periods. He goes on to stress that the documents published by RUDE PRAVO in no way represent an official guideline on how to proceed, and admits he does not know who is the author and when it was written. Havel points out that this method is wrong, for the simple reason that whether somebody is capable of doing some work properly or not does not depend on his Czechoslovak Communist Party membership and similar things, but only on his professional qualities and goodwill.

Asked about his speech delivered at the Oslo conference, Havel notes that the favorable response to his address opened certain political space for Czechoslovakia and points out that sometimes things which seem to have only personal significance are, in their consequences, important in policymaking. Havel says he feels the need to explain this because the Czechoslovak press often underestimates this kind of political activity.

Asked about the anniversary of the Polish Solidarity, Havel points out that this was the first case when a dissident movement's activities had an impact on the whole of society and led to its activation. He stresses that Solidarity prepared the way for the changes in all the countries of the former Soviet bloc.

Answering a question about the role of the Czechoslovak younger generation, Havel stresses that our future depends above all on the education and intellectual level of our nation, and recalls the tradition which the Czechs and Slovaks enjoy in this field. Havel notes that the moral aspect characteristic, for instance, in the Bata business philosophy was missing in the Slusovice case. Havel also recalls his teacher who was able to teach them truth even in the difficult circumstances of the Nazi occupation, and points out this is exactly what is needed nowadays.

Calfa Meets Coexistence Movement Members

LD0309202590 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Prague, 3 Sep (CTK)—Manifestations of chauvinism which give rise to unreasonable conduct of some individuals in Czechoslovakia must be prevented, Premier Marian Calfa told today members of the political movement for coexistrepublics [as recieved] on national minorities.

Calfa stressed that relations between nationalities on Czechoslovak territory must be solved in the context of international covenants and in the interest of all-European coexistence by legislation within the framework of the Federal Assembly, not through bilateral talks between Slovaks and Hungarians. There is a strong Hungarian minority in Slovakia especially on its southern border with Hungary.

Czechoslovak-Polish relations, the future of the controversial Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project on the Danube and new constitutional laws on national minorities in Czechoslovakia were other subjects of Calfa's discussion with the coexistence movement, which works for the interests of national minorities.

Survey on Constitutional Arrangement of State

AU3108092390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed table: "Public on the Constitutional Arrangement of the State"]

[Text] In the second half of June, the Institute for Public Opinion Research conducted a broader survey, which included questions on the constitutional arrangement of the state. The views of 1,000 persons over the age of 18, constituting a representative sample of the population of Czechoslovakia, were surveyed. The table below lists the preferences of those questioned:

	In favor of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks with great powers of the central government	In favor of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks with great powers of the Czech and Slovak Governments	In favor of a confederation	In favor of two wholly independent Czech and Slovak states	Do not know, or other answers
CSFR	33 Percent	34 Percent	21 Percent	6 Percent	6 Percent
Czech Republic	42 Percent	30 Percent	16 Percent	5 Percent	7 Percent
Slovak Republic	16 Percent	41 Percent	30 Percent	8 Percent	5 Percent

Previous results of surveys by the Institute for Public Opinion Research show that 70 percent of our republic's citizens would be ready to deliver their opinion on the constitutional arrangement of the state in a referendum.

Assembly Adopts 3 Reform Bills

LD3109174990 Prague CTK in English 1039 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 31 (CTK)—The adoption of three legislative measures by the presidium of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) yesterday was prompted by the public's demands for a quicker pace of political and economic reforms in the country.

The first of the three extraordinary, temporary measures extends the range of offices filled by appointment by another degree of management. It aims at more operative realization of personnel changes in the state administration, in enterprises and other organizations, and at the liquidation of the former system of nomenclature introduced by the Communist Party for the benefit of its totalitarian regime.

The legislative measure amending the 1990 law on state enterprises prevents transferring of the property which is at disposal of state enterprises. These transfers often harm the national property, as state enterprises shift for various reasons the property put into their ownership to other than state organizations, or bring it in the form of non-monetary share to joint-stock companies and trade companies or joint ventures. Under the legislative measure, state enterprises are obliged to report by October 31, 1990 all property transfers to their founders, i.e. respective ministries which will consider their validity.

The legislative measure on the property of political parties, movements and mass organizations prolongs the term (expiring under a 1990 law on September 30) within which they cannot freely handle their property. It was taken amid persisting doubts about the property of the political parties which existed under the former regime, especially the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the ways in which they gained it. The Communist Party's real estate is estimated at 1,000 million crowns. The legislative measure prevents political parties, movements and mass organizations from doing anything with their property until March 31, 1991.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 31 August on page 8 carries a 300-word CTK report, entitled "Legal Measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium," on the 30 August session of the Federal Assembly Presidium. The report adds that two vacated seats in the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Nations were filled—that of Slavomir Stracar (deputy of the Public Against Violence movement for East Slovakia), who died on 21 August, and Marta Skarlandtova (deputy of the Civic Forum for South Bohemia), who submitted her resignation on 30 August. According to the report, Slavomir Stracar has been replaced by Sonja Hlavkova and Marta Skarlandtova by Jaroslav Selner.]

Socialist Party Split Anticipated

AU3008193990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 27 Aug 90 pp 1,3

["(spi)"-signed report: "They Demand the Resignation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Prague—The National Social Assembly, which wants to revive the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS], held a meeting in Prague on Saturday [25 August]. It condemned the expulsion of J. Skacel, C. Cejka, F. Heres, and L. Batora, which testifies to the fact that the CSS Central Committee Presidium is determined to risk a split in the party in order to protect their positions. Many delegates familiar with the report on the unsuccessful negotiations with M. Adam, CSS acting deputy chairman, requested that the pre-February 1948 Czechoslovak National Socialist Party be revived. In an attempt to seek a final opportunity for preventing a party split, the National Socialist Party demanded the resignation of the CSS Central Committee before 30 August and that the leadership be handed over to the Congress Committee established from the representatives of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, National Socialist Party, and CSS Central Committee. Prior to this, the Central Committee must cancel the expulsions from the CSS, recall Dr. Pribramsky from his function as central secretary, and cancel the freeze on accounts belonging to the district and local organizations. A National Socialist Party plenary meeting has been called for 8 September. If the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party is reinstated, the National Socialist Party expects that not only the law but also the public will be on its side, not only as far as ideology is concerned, but also with respect to the continuity of legal and property rights.

Possible Coalition Partners for Social Democracy

AU0109171290

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 August on pages 1 and 5 publishes a 1,800-word interview with Professor Dr. Jiri Horak, chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party [CSSD], by Kamila Jaskova, RUDE PRAVO correspondent, entitled "We refuse to participate in the spite parliament." The place and date of the interview are not given.

Responding to a question on the causes for the failure of his party in the elections, Horak says that, contrary to popular belief, neither the exiles in the party leadership nor the strategy is responsible. "There are different reasons: First of all, the June elections were basically a referendum which did not provide the political parties with sufficient space for self-assertion. The incessant warnings by the Civic Forum to the voters that we and some other parties cannot possibly attain the required five percent affected many people." Additional reasons for the failure were, according to Horak, the 42-year ban on the party, the lack of a daily, and insufficient organizational network. Moreover, Horak claims that the Civic Forum's Social Democracy Club warned the voters not to vote CSSD.

The interviewer mentions the fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party could have been a good coalition partner. Horak agrees that in that case they would have been represented in the government but it is too late. In preparation for a possible coalition in the future, Horak says, "We talked to the Revival, Independent Left, Democratic Forum, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Green Party, Agrarians, and to the Society for Moravia and Silesia." The CSSD intends, according to Horak, to become "not only the ideological, but also the organizational center of the democratic left." The party refuses, however, any cooperation with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Horak declares. He explains this reluctance on his part: "I have a feeling that all the changes in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are only of a cosmetic nature." On the other hand, Horak does not rule out the possibility that his party might run in coalition with the Civic Forum in some communities in next November's local elections. The Civic Forum is very varied, he says, and the relationship between the CSSD and the Civic Forum depends on the people involved.

Asked about the former CSSD chairmanship candidate, Rudolf Battek, Horak confirms that he ran for the office, but his membership in the party was terminated. "The reason was that he campaigned against the party in the June elections." Further, Horak categorically rejects the idea of the Extra-parliamentary Assembly as a rarity, and refuses to be a part of what he calls a spite parliament. At the conclusion of the interview, Horak admits that he has dual, U.S.-Czechoslovak, citizenship.

'Right-Wing' Political Party Established

LD3008151190 Prague CTK in English 1412 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—The aim of the Czechoslovak National Congress, a new right-wing political party which was registered in Czechoslovakia on August 6, is to unite right-wing political parties, movements, streams and groupings in Czechoslovakia.

Its chairman Vilem Nedorost told journalists here today that the Czechoslovak National Congress is "the liberal right wing of democratic activity with the aim of increasing the living standard of citizens and humanistic development of the state".

The main target of the congress is to assert the interests of those Czechoslovak citizens who do not have any representatives in the Czechoslovak parliament or in the Czech or Slovak National Councils (Czech and Slovak parliaments) after the June parliamentary elections.

Right-wing parties did not have success in the elections because of grudge and lack of unity and that is why their uniting into one strong political party is decisive for a possible success of this political orientation in Czechoslovakia, Nedorost said.

There are about twenty political parties and groupings of right-wing orientation in Czechoslovakia at present. The Czechoslvoak National Congress follows up the principles of the former party of Czechoslovak neutrality which did not get the necessary number of 10,000 members to be able to participate in the June parliamentary elections. The Czechoslovak National Congress has already got 10,000 members and intends to participate in the local elections planned for November 23-24. Its representatives pointed to the fact that today, 84 days before the elections, a relevant law has not yet been approved, which hampers work of those parties which want to enter the pre-election campaign with new elements, without a ramified party apparatus and financial support.

8,000 Soldiers Discharged This Year

AU3108130990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Aug 90 pp 1,5

[Rostislav Valasek article: "Full Speed in Competence Testing"]

[Excerpts] More than 8,000 professional soldiers have been discharged from the Czechoslovak Army since the beginning of the year. That is approximately 13 percent of the total number of professional soldiers in the Army. [passage omitted]

On Own Request

Since the minister of national defense announced in an order at the beginning of the year the competence testing—based on the moral disposition, expert knowledge, health, and prescribed education for the position held by the professional soldiers—approximately 2,000 professional soldiers over the age of 55 applied for a discharge. Fewer than 300 of them were former political workers. None of those who have asked—or will ask—to be discharged this year, will be tested. So far, more than 6,000 soldiers have asked for a discharge. Another 2,200 professional soldiers—approximately three percent of the total—selected a different way of leaving the Army, namely, they refused to sign the text of the new military oath. [passage omitted]

Of those who did not sign the military oath, 60 percent were from combat units, 16 percent were graduates mostly of military schools, and 70 percent were under the age of 25. [passage omitted]

Three Stages of the Competence Tests

The competence tests are progressing at full speed and the first of the three stages was completed by the end of June. During this stage, generals and officers, who are appointed directly by the president in his function as the Army commander-in-chief are being tested.

The commission at this level was chaired by Defense Minister and Army General Miroslav Vacek; its members were President's Adviser Jiri Krizan and Lieutenant General Ladislav Tomecek, chief of the military staff of the president of the Republic. The commission tested all the deputy ministers of defense, chiefs of military academies, and commanders of military districts. This was done despite the fact that three-quarters of these people were appointed after the president assumed his office at the end of last year. In addition, the generals and officers appointed by the minister—i.e., Army and division commanders, and Ministry of Defense Administration Chiefs—were tested in this stage.

In addition to the top Army "officials," the first stage affected the education and culture apparatus and the personnel components at all levels of command, including the regiments. Thus, approximately 10 percent of the total number of professional soldiers who are to be tested this year were tested in the first stage. In 998 cases the commission did not confirm the legitimacy of the appointment and, particularly for the former political workers, it proposed a transfer to a lower position or another specialty field, or even a discharge from active duty. [passage omitted]

The second stage, that began on 1 July and is to be completed by the end of September, will concern those appointed by the commanders of military districts. These are regimental commanders and the higher divisional posts. Between 1 October and the end of the year all remaining professional soldiers will be tested. [passage omitted)

Lower Number, Higher Quality

The relatively high reduction in the number of professional soldiers resulting from their leaving the Army complicates life—above all—in the units. Increased demands magnify the burden laid on those who remain. At the same time, the military schools and academies are becoming more selective when accepting applicants even at the price that the required quota will not be filled.

After the reorganization, our Army should be substantially smaller in number than it used to be. Plans are drafted for a professional Army, and these intentions cannot be realized without qualified, highly professional experts—professional soldiers.

Majority of Army Leadership Replaced

LD3008194990 Hamburg DPA in German 1550 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Following the change to democracy, virtually all leadership of the Czechoslovak Army has been replaced. Deputy Defense Minister Antonin Rasek, who is responsible for education and culture in the Army, said in a DPA interview today that 75 of 138 generals have been pensioned off. Only one third of party officials in the military remain, and they have been completely removed from the sphere of education and culture.

Many officers—82 percent of whom have been in the Communist Party—received the regulation banning political activity with relief, Rasek said. In the Air Force, for example, 70 percent of the personnel have left the Communist Party.

Rasek, who was being briefed on questions of "moral leadership" at the Hamburg Staff Colege, confirmed that the CSFR, independent of the Vienna disarmament negotiations, intends to reduce its army by 60,000 to 140,000 soldiers. This will take place primarily by means of a reduction of military service from 18 to 12 months. Also under consideration is the transformation of the Army into a professional force. Initially it will consist of half conscripts and half professional soldiers, as the Bundeswehr does.

Ministry Official on Unemployment in the CSFR

AU0109171590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 29 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Professor I. Tomes, deputy minister of labor and social affairs, by I. Vajnerova; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vajnerova] About 7,000 job seekers were registered as of 30 June. What is their situation now?

[Tomes] As of 31 July, 19,465 unplaced job seekers were registered in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. 10,523 of them were in the Czech Republic and 8,942 were in the Slovak Republic. Of the unemployed, 4,369 people in the Czech Republic and 5,879 of the job seekers in the Slovak Republic collect welfare. The Manpower Departments, or rather the newly established Labor Exchanges are doing all they can to find new positions for these people. [passage omitted]

[Vajnerova] What stage did the bills on employment reach?

[Tomes] The bills on employment were dealt with at the interdepartmental appraisal level and they were submitted to the governments of the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic already in their article-by-article form . Upon adoption, as per the legislative procedure, they will be submitted to the Federal Assembly.

[Vajnerova] What will be the ratio between the sums spent on retraining and unemployment benefits?

[Tomes] That will always depend on the actual situation. The first experiences indicate that the unemployment benefits form a substantial part of the assigned funds. Nevertheless, what is true today, might not be true tomorrow. Of course, in time, we will put more effort and funds into the active unemployment policy, i.e., into the search for and creation of jobs and on retraining. The retraining will provide for a further, or a new utilization of the worker or citizen. We view the payment of unemployment benefits only as a last resort.

'Economic Initiative' Proposal Sent to Havel

LD3109224690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Rudolf (Baranek), chairman of the Association of the Entrepreneurs of the Czech Republic, and Ladislav (Rohozka), chairman of the Association of the Entrepreneurs of Slovakia, sent an open letter to President Vaclav Havel.

They stressed in their letter that the aim of both associations was to build the prosperity of our state on the basis of economic initiative of an individual which cannot be separated from a real market mechanism. It is not possible, though, not to tackle the current unlawful state when many organizations as well as individuals use, without having the right to do so, the assets which they acquired illegally in the time of the Communist regime.

The two chairmen described so-called small privatization and above all re-privatization as the principal way out of this situation. Their open letter ensured Vaclav Havel that the associations of entrepreneurs in both our republics were capable of beginning immediate cooperation with all the appropriate bodies of the state administration and representative bodies.

New Body for Economic, Social Policies Established

AU0309084990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Social Consensus Council"]

[Text] The first preliminary round of joint talks between trade unions representatives, employer organizations, and government representatives, promised by the federal government in its policy statement, has taken place in Prague. V. Vales, deputy premier of the Federal Government, submitted yesterday to the participants for perusal and comments a proposal of principles for the operation of the tripartite Social Consensus Council [Rada Socialni Dohody]. It will be a consultative and initiative body for dealing with all issues of economic and social policies with a substantial impact on the living standard and work of the citizens. The government proposes that the council be established in the form of a tripartite consensus. V. Vales promised that he will move in the government that it submits to the country's business and trade-union partners in the emerging tripartite council as quickly as possible, the finalized timetable of the economic reform and that it should ask for their comments and opinions. Minister Miller, who was present at the meeting, was given the task of submitting by the end of the month—according to the trade unions, the key document—the social reform time schedule. In the immediate future, bills are to be submitted on collective bargaining and collective contracts, and a bill on employment. At the beginning of September, "a small amendment" to the Labor Code will follow. In early September, Minister V. Klaus should submit a bill on citizens' income tax for inspection.

Hungarian Minority Group Rejects Planned Laws

AU3008180290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Anxiety About the Incitement of Frictions"]

[Text] Bratislava—At its session in Bratislava on Saturday [25 August], the leadership of the Central Committee of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia (Csemadok) expressed anxiety about the incitement of national frictions.

In a statement they, among other things, described the draft law, by which the Slovak language is to be codified as the sole and exclusive state and official language in the territory of the Slovak Republic, as unconstitutional, downgrading the Czech language and the languages of the ethnic minorities to the level of a tolerated medium of communication in citizens' private contacts. The leadership of the Csemadok Central Committee also rejected the draft law banning the imposition of the majority's will on citizens of Slovak nationality in the ethnically mixed parts of the Slovak Republic.

Foreign Minister Discusses Slovak Issues

LD0309215690 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava, 3 Sep (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and newly-appointed Slovak Minister of International Affairs Milan Knazko today.

"We will talk about what issues will be dealt with at the federal level and what issues at the level of the national governments, naturally always in cooperation", Dienstbier said before the start of the talks. The aim is to overcome issues related to the strengthening of unified state policy and the participation of Slovak bodies in it.

The Ministry of International Affairs of the Slovak republic, one of Czechoslovakia's two constituent parts, was formally set up on August 28. Milan Knazko, an actor-turned-politician and former minister without portfolio, was appointed to head it.

Commenting on his talks with Knazko, which took place behind closed doors, Dienstbier said that any possible differences of views would have to be resolved during the talks. He stressed the need to adapt to the "rules of the game" in international politics which were formed over centuries.

Tomorrow, Dienstbier will have talks with Slovak National Council (Parliament) chairman and members of its Foreign Affairs Committee.

Spokesman for the government of the Czech Republic, the other of Czechoslovakia's two parts Jan Vit said last week that this government did not plan to found a special ministry but intended to run these affairs within the government office without founding a special institution.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said in a report at the close of their talks that Czechoslovakia must have one foreign policy.

They agreed that the Slovak Government would have a body for international relations and the body would be run by a minister of the Slovak Government.

They also agreed that a commission of experts would debate the name of this body in Slovakia to avoid complications and misunderstandings in Czechosklovakia's external relations. Such commissions of experts are being set up on the basis of talks held by representatives of the federal and the Czech and Slovak governments on the division of their powers in various spheres on August 8-9.

The commission is also to propose options for the activity and status of the body and to find soon a method of exchange of information on foreign policy matters between the Federal Foreign Ministry and the governments of the two constituent republics.

The establishment of the Slovak Ministry of International Affairs was declared officially in Bratislava on August 28, on the basis of a law of the Slovak National Council on the organization of ministries and other bodies of state administration, which referred to the 1968 constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation.

Havel Talks with Slovak News Media

AU3108124190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Aug 90 p 6

[Transcript of the discussion between CSFR President Vaclav Havel and Slovak journalists, in Prague on 22 August: "We Know Little About Each Other"]

[Text] Havel: I have already declared in parliament that I want to meet people and various representatives of society; I do not want to meet only governments, ministers, or people from parliament, but I also want to meet people from the mass media and political parties. The meetings are absolutely informal and their objective is to renew communication rather than to have the president influence and control everything. I would be happy if you would speak more than I do; I am prepared to speak about anything and to answer any questions, if I can. Of course, I am not omniscient and I would prefer to learn something from you. How do you see the situation in Slovakia, what is your opinion about the new search for relations between the Federation and the republics—which is a very topical issue—what is your opinion about national questions, etc.?

Moreover, there are your specific problems, relating to the mass media, such as paper and its distribution. I do not believe that I will be able to solve all your problems, yet it will do no harm if I become aware of them, since I may happen to have an opportunity to mention them when the time is right. I exaggerated a little when I said that I was not reading Slovak newspapers at all. Of course, if I happen to have them in my hand, I read them. I was surprised during my visit to Smokovec that I was unable to get any Czech newspapers. And, if this can happen to the president then it is more likely to happen to a regular citizen as well. This might not be the greatest problem or the main issue, however. This can be corrected by the Postal Newspaper Subscription Service—which should ensure that it functions better—as well as by the Slovak correspondents in Bohemia and the Czech ones in Slovakia, despite the fact that Slovak correspondents in Prague are more numerous than Czech correspondents in Slovakia. This is probably due to the fact that Prague is the seat of the Federation.

Simecka: This meeting is being held because we all feel that there are some flaws in communication. Please, talk about the Czech and Slovak coexistence crisis. I assume that this is the topic in which the president is most interested.

CAS magazine, J. Alner: I would begin with a question for the president. I would like to know your definition of the Federation.

Havel: A definition must be worked out by political scientists and by lawyers. I think that a prototype of such a federation is the United States of America, which, as far as I know, is the first federative state in history. It is true that the United States was established by an agreement of 13 states. In this sense, the assumption that a federation is an agreement between individual states living in this federation is true. At the same time, this means something that is very often forgotten, that is, that not only an agreement is involved, but also an establishment of a group of states with its own identity, policy, and rights. It is not only an agreement between two states, it is an agreement of a higher order. This agreement is not only a linkage between the two states, but also the creation of something that has a new identity. A two-member federation, our Federation, differs in many aspects from a federation like the Soviet Union, or the Russian Republic, or the United States of America due to the fact that only two states are involved. I agree with you that this should be somehow defined so that everyone may have a clear idea about it, since people are confusing these words. They talk, for example, about a confederation, about a union, and they do not know what the difference is between a federation, a confederation, and a union. A clear definition, not only a legal one, should be made and published in order for the people to know what the politicians are talking about.

Slovak Syndicate of Journalists: There are contacts with our Czech colleagues, yet the problem is a significant lack of information and, sometimes, incompetency. The article about A. Hlinka in SVOBODNE SLOVO may serve as a general example. The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists intends to invite a group of 20 to 30 Czech journalists to its facilities in Harmonia and to create an opportunity for becoming better acquainted with each other and for having a discussion.

Havel: Let us note, for example, how the Trencianske Teplice meeting is being referred to in the Czech and Slovak press and how many conjectures, speculations, and misinterpretations have arisen.... This time I am attacking the Czech press, which called the Trencianske Teplice meeting blackmail, which is not true.

SMER magazine, I. Baca: What is your opinion about A. Hlinka's commemoration in Central Slovakia, particularly in connection with the Slovak National Uprising celebrations in Banska Bystrica?

Havel: By my presence in Banska Bystrica and by my short message I want to emphasize two things: That this is the first anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising to be celebrated in an atmosphere of absolute freedom, when any truth about the uprising may be told. We know that in connection with the uprising many lies were piled one upon another. Another reason for my travelling there is that I want to stress the best traditions of the uprising, that is, the democratic ones. The Slovak National Uprising is a sort of Slovak national calling card to me, since—as I understand it—it was an uprising, the objective of which was a democratic system in a federative republic. The uprising strived for fair relations between our nations—and that is what we are striving for today—irrespective what the result was. This uprising sought democracy. I want to stress this Slovak democratic tradition, particularly at a time when some others are stressing the worse Slovak tradition.

CAS magazine, J. Alner: Sometimes I have a feeling that Czech newspapers write about Slovakia in the same manner as some large world newspapers write about Czechoslovakia. They are only concentrating on extremes, which is a simplified and uninformed point of view. They do not see the core of the problems. We have to make things surrounding relations between Slovaks and Czechs and between Slovaks and Hungarians clear. If we speak of Slovakia, the model of the Slovak State—the wartime Slovak State—it is wrong. Those who proclaim it do not know what they are talking about, they do not know history, including Slovak history. If there is talk about a confederation, then it is being understood as a tendency, as an intermediate step, for loosening the existing relations even more. Apparently, we have to fix the limits and then to observe them.

Havel: We held a discussion at Prague Castle which was an extension to the Trencianske Teplice meeting, and I stressed there that everything had been accepted in general, and that to me the danger lies in the fact that the Federation is understood as a necessary evil, as an obstacle to the Republic's development, and that the republics will give the Federation what they do not want to have. The Federation is a task, a common task for both Czechs and Slovaks. We must not regard it as something indefinite—that there are two concrete republics and that the Federation is something abstract hovering over them. The Federation must be defined positively and offensively, as a joint task for both nations. Peter Pithart said on television that there is no federal nation. There is a Czech nation and a Slovak nation, and they can form a consensus. This is true. Yet he has forgotten that there may be no Czechoslovak nation, yet there is a Czechoslovak population, which is, so to speak, a federal population. Not only are there Czechs and Slovaks, but also Hungarians, Ruthenians, Romanies, etc. In discussions and in some newspaper articles it sounds as if this is an obstacle on the road toward the development of the republic.

VEREJNOST, J. Ruttkay: I would like follow up on your statement that the revolution has not ended yet. I would like to ask how we are going to ensure that we will not lose what we have won....

Havel: I spoke in more detail about this matter in the conversations from Lany. The issue is that there is a desperate mood spreading among people; they do not want to run in local elections, they say that it has no purpose, that "they" will have it in their hands forever.

The issue is to arouse the will in the people and to continue what had been started. This is a moral, civic, and psychological aspect. What are the people supposed to do? A whole spectrum of specific possibilities is opening. There are legislative works that must be done by parliament and national councils. Strict administrative measures must be taken by the executive power, above all, by the government. For example, the destruction of large mafia giants to which small enterprises and business are subordinated—this is mostly an administrative task. Central tools, if they exist, (they are mostly facing extinction) must be employed against themselves; to turn this weapon against itself, against centralism, and to liquidate these monsters—about which it is widely known that they curb the economic behavior of the subjects. The most important one is what will the parliament, the government, and various offices and also civic initiatives do. It does not have to be a manifestation, yet it is enough to put down a better alternative and submit it to the right man. Very often a matter can be solved in five minutes, but a demonstration lasting for one hour is organized instead, making demands that could have been met by somebody a long time ago. There are many silly regulations that are in force....

Slovak Republic Government Office, J. Comaj: As far as the journalists' meeting in Harmonia is concerned, actively writing journalists should meet, not officials. It is necessary to establish lively contacts. This ensued, among other things, from the last news conference with Premier Meciar, at which not a single Czech journalist was present among more than 100 journalists. The LIDOVE NOVINY reference to the Trencianske Teplice meeting may serve as an example of superficial journalism.

VEREJNOST: We are expecting a lot from the establishment of a Presidential Office in Bratislava. What has been done in this matter so far?

Havel: We have selected the premises. There was one Slovak architect at the castle yesterday to discuss their adaptation and it seems that only technical questions remain. These include hiring a certain number of administrative workers, the appointment of the chief of this office, and finding the mechanism of its contacts with the surroundings and with the Prague office, so that this might become a service enabling my advisers and myself to come there and perform office duties.... On the subject of what you have said—I strongly agree that ethics, the journalist's responsibility, is our problem. We spoke about it with Michael Zantovsky at one conference. He expanded on this idea, maybe in an inappropriate way, and the misunderstanding that we might be intending to censor the press arose. This is not true. I feel it is a burning problem, however. Due to the fact that there was no freedom in our country, there was no school of responsibility, either. Freedom has come, and some journalists believe that it frees them from civic responsibility.

KULTURNY ZIVOT magazine, I. Strpka: There is a danger that the orientation toward the nationality problem will be to the detriment of solving the problems of democracy and of all processes connected to it.

Havel: You are right on one point. The totalitarian system has been overthrown and it seems as if there was a sort of vacuum. Old rulers were overthrown, problems remain, a new vacuum arose, and a substitute culprit is searched for, including substitute problems. Very often these problems are difficult to describe or to define, such a problem often replaces another one which is a more easily definable problem. The problem of relations between the republics and the Federation becomes a lightning rod attracting all the problems, despite the fact that their roots are somewhere else. A substitute culprit is being searched for since it is impossible to lead the attack indefinitely against totalitarian rulers, because they do not have power any longer. Whom should we attack when we are dissatisfied? We are attacking and blaming one another! People have a natural inclination to simplify the situation and to find a scapegoat and to transform a complicated problem into a simplified one. This is not the Czechoslovak problem. It is a problem of the parties. For example, the People's Party accuses Civic Forum of being leftist totalitarians and Civic Forum, in its turn, accuses the People's Party; one accuses the other, making a scapegoat of him. Petr Pithart was accused of covering up old structures, which I think is not true, but, whom are they to blame when the Czech Government premier is not a representative of the old structures? Of course, they even make the premier responsible for something he is not responsible for.

NARODNA OBRODA, J. Veres: I think that the main problem is that we are hardly pointing to the basic thing: the nervousness and tensions, which exist and which will exist, are not the result of the 17 November revolution, but are the heritage from the past regime. This is the reason why Gorbachev's regime has been, and is still, collapsing; in Brezhnev's time there was bread and vodka, today there is nothing. And this is, I believe, what we have not grasped.

SLOVENSKY DENIK magazine, L. Salay: It is a historical fact that Slovak national feeling has always been manipulated by someone. The question is, Who is in the background now?

SMENA, K. Jezik: There is a serious problem with newsprint. Foreign deliverers are able to sell it for 8 to 9 korunas, while the domestic manufacturer, Steti, sells it for 14 korunas. The Customs Administration imposed such a duty that it is impossible to carry out trade.

NARODNA OBRODA, J. Veres: We do not want to get ourselves into a situation similar to the Hungarians, that is, to sell the press and lose the independence for which we stand as a part of national culture, since we consider the press to be a part of this culture.

Collective of Advisers to the President: We have been described in the press in a negative manner. If there are any doubts, we are willing to establish contacts in which the atmosphere around the president would be favorable and open. The next problem which is awaiting us is the search for balance between the permanent state of crisis—which we will have to get used to (I am afraid that all democratic societies are in a permanent state of crisis and that they solve these crises somehow en passant)—and the stability. The solution is not clear, but it is the subject of discussion. The search for federal identity is in its initial stage and it is impossible to say properly what binds this state together.

Havel: This meeting was a positive meeting, yet if we had representatives of the extremists here, a more electrifying situation could have arisen. From what has been said, it ensues that we are finding a common language with the journalists. Our society is in a sort of permanent crisis and the mass media are the society's nervous system. Journalists are a more powerful tool than the police and the Army, this is quite clear to us. Everything depends on the journalists' responsibility and professionalism; this is clear to us as well. I have stressed many times that we all are learning somehow. This situation is new to all of us, we have to learn how to communicate and how to acquire some professionalism. Many of us have to learn how to be responsible as well.

Within the framework of overall politics, it is necessary to destroy administrative structures in which tens and hundreds of people found their home. This is apparent, from agriculture to the Postal Newspaper Subscription Service. For example, newsprint and newspaper distribution. It is inevitable that, despite our country's transition toward a market economy, some things are subsidized: culture, social care, health care, education, and the mass media. Those are the expenses which can, according to some accountants, burden the state budget.... Yet, our future lies in it, that is, that our people will be educated, cultured, that they will have good taste and that they will be responsible. Those are investments which will pay off a hundred times. Accountants do not have columns and rows for items representing investments the return on which is indirect.

We have spoken about Austrian journalists, about their situation. In any case, we have to find mechanisms of stimulating, but not bribing this area. There must be some other sort of subsidies, as compared to the totalitarian system when loyalty was paid for. The more servile the painter, the higher was the price of his picture. This must be liquidated. Stimuli must be found which will promote independence and freedom of artistic creation, and also of journalist work.

NARODNA OBRODA, J. Veres: It is very good that the president will visit Banska Stiavnica, Slovakia, and we are impatiently waiting for him.

Havel: I made this decision a long time ago.

CAS magazine, J. Alner: It is good that this meeting was held and it would be even better if we had another meeting, during which a discussion could be held between the president and journalists.

Havel: That is what I planned originally.

Dienstbier Interviewed on Slovak Issues

LD0309182890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Miroslav Polacek responses in Slovak]

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, deputy premier of the federal government and minister of foreign affairs, met in Bratislava today with Vladimir Meciar, premier of the Slovak Government, and other representatives. They concerned themselves with the strengthening of a unified state policy and the participation of the organs of the Slovak republic in its creation and fulfillment. Miroslav Polacek asked for some details on behalf of radio news:

[Begin recording] [Polacek] According to the agenda, your first meeting should have been with Minister Knazko. Clearly at issue were the first signs of handing over jurisdiction by your ministry to the Slovak Ministry of International Relations. Do you think that the division of jurisdiction within the framework of foreign relations will be good for our foreign policy?

[Dienstbier] Well, the question is, what will we be discussing? There are things which simply from the viewpoint of our wishes, that is those of the Czech and Slovak public, with regard to our wish to come closer to Europe, to enter the European Community, the Council of Europe, and so on, can only be dealt with on the federal level, because those institutions in principle only recognize one vote. The rules of international policy are created over centuries and it would be difficult for us to interfere with them. But this changes nothing about the fact that there are enormous areas of possibilities for action by organs at the most varied level, for example relations which simply concern communities, which do not concern any governments. It is the role of federal foreign policy to create space for such relations and to remove obstacles for them on the international field.

[Polacek] So, do you think that the Cernin Palace [seat of foreign ministry] can breathe more easily following the talks?

[Dienstbier] Well, naturally I am always happy when I have less work to do, all the more so because the work I already have to do cannot all be done in the 18 or 20 hours a day by any of us. So I have nothing against having my work load reduced.

[Polacek] Is it expected that a similar organ and institutions will be created in the Czech Republic?

[Dienstbier] As far as I know the Czech Republic is not considering the creation of such an institution. You are once again trying to make me talk about the Slovak ministry but we will answer this question later.

[Unidentified reporter in Slovak] excuse me for interrupting you, since my colleague has broached the subject, but I was in Trencianske Teplice and I asked Mr. Pithart that, and he said that they are considering it.

[Dienstbier] The Czech Government is creating an office for international relations which will be directly under the premier personally.

[Polacek] Our politicians, I mean Slovak ones, have been called, let us say, separatists, and similar, things, since the Trencianske Teplice meeting. What is your personal view on this?

[Dienstbier] I personally feel that there are so far not all that many separatists, either in one or the other republic, and it is important that we act and speak in such a way as to ensure that their numbers do not grow, but on the contrary that they fall.

Slovak Premier Hints at Government Changes

AU3008155990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Excerpt of speech given by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on Czechoslovak Television on 25 August: "We Will Put an End to Groundless Speculation"]

[Text] Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar appeared on television on Saturday [25 August] and delivered a speech to viewers. His speech contained the following ideas:

"Topics such as Czech and Slovak mutuality and the Czech and Slovak Republic have justifiably been at the center of interest in recent weeks. It will be necessary to make some serious decisions which depend not only on the government, but also on an agreement being reached among the political parties and on the decisions made by the legislative organs. I explained the Slovak Republic Government's point of view extensively and openly at a news conference on 19 August. We are upset that citizens in the Czech Republic were not given an opportunity to become fully acquainted with the Slovak Government's point of view, and that there is still scope in that republic for groundless considerations and speculation.

"Anyhow, there is a basis for discussion which should be of a high cultural and professional standard. We are prepared to defend our point of view at any time, with each partner, and in any place. If someone comes up with a better suggestion, he will be given preference. In any case, however, the results of extensive discussions and the collective's comprehensive research and expert work will have to shape a definitive plan. We think, therefore, that acts of protest should not be organized on the streets, but points of view should be explained and clarified first of all in order to confront those who hold a different opinion.

"Allow me, therefore, to express my dissatisfaction with the fact that some smaller groups of citizens are spreading opinions and points of view which reject the results of the negotiations involving the governments and are asserting the view that the only way out for Slovakia is an independent Slovak state.

"Let us discuss this issue in a matter-of-fact manner. Do not send me anonymous letters. We will sit around a table—supporters and opponents of this point of view—and we will clarify what is going on. Let us not, however, cause a mass psychosis. This is just an excuse for those who do not like the process of changes under way in our society, or who—at least—doubt this process and think that Slovakia and Slovaks want something else".

In his television address, Vladimir Meciar did not forget to mention the commemoration of A. Hlinka in Ruzomberok. When he justified the government's nonparticipation in the commemoration, he said:

"This was not due to lack of respect for this monumental figure in our history; his position in it is irreplaceable. We want to contribute toward fully explaining what he stood for, and we are preparing an event for 1991 which should be a worthy culmination of his commemoration and an expression of the respect in which we hold him.

"Some opportunists have attached themselves to the massive wave of nationalist feelings and pretend that they are the force determining this entire current. It is clear to us that under the conditions of a democratic society anyone can think that an independent Slovak state is a way out. We, however, stop being indifferent to this point of view the moment those who support this opinion want to undertake specific deeds and steps leading to the dissolution of the state and to unrest.

"We feel that the overwhelming majority of Slovak citizens are united around the government's program. The miners and power industry workers sent us a very nice letter and the metallurgical workers hold similar points of view. Other professions and enterprises are also making their views known. We are grateful to you for this support.

"Unfortunately, there are also contrary and extreme points of view. Certain individuals—when they are not trying to discredit the contents of our policy—would gladly attempt to at least discredit the people who present this policy.

"I am continually receiving reports that there are groups which are attempting to acquire material to discredit the premier. I am not a man who can be bought or blackmailed. These sweet little groups which are paying so much attention to me are probably unaware of the fact that they are serving something completely different. Among them are members of the former State Security Corps who should be "grateful" to me for the fact that other groups are working with them.

"The tolerance limit, however, is not endless and it is necessary to reckon with an appropriate response from the premier."

The Slovak premier also appealed to all those who were involved in the Slovak National Uprising to take part in the events commemorating the 46th anniversary of the uprising, which will be attended by the president, the federal premier, the chairman of the Federal Assembly, and representatives of the Czech National Council, the Czech Republic Government, and the Slovak Republic Government.

"In the very near future, talks will be held in the Slovak National Council about certain changes in the composition of state organs. Some ministers—who, so far, were only government members—will finally be given their portfolios. I would also be happy if I could soon inform you about certain changes in ministerial posts as even in this sphere everything is not in order."

Meciar Said To Be Adopting Nationalist Views

AU3008195290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Jiri Hanak commentary: "Clothes for the Federation"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Republic, united and indivisible, is experiencing its final days. If the situation does not go back to normal, it will cease to exist as a single state as of 1 January 1991. If anyone thinks this claim seems rather blunt or exaggerated, then he has, evidently, not heard the speech delivered by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar to the Slovak National Council.

We have just witnessed a classic political maneuver: Mr. Meciar crept up on the simpleminded ultra-separatist loudmouths when they were taking their baths and slipped away wearing their clothes. The Slovak premier has replaced their ignorance, lack of ideas, and lack of premeditation with truly profound ideas and considerations. The result: The voluble acknowledgement of the Federation's continued existence, while this federation will resemble an empty shell. A shell without the snail.

I managed to follow the Slovak premier's speech for a long time in peace and without bias. I imagined the Vienna parliament of 100 years ago where the Czech deputies struggled for their statehood. All the deliberations, language rules, minimalist policies, and the obstructions put up by the Czech deputies at that time must have aroused the indignation and disbelief of the other deputies. What do these Czechs want? I understand: Every nation, obviously, has to go through a stage of measles, diphtheria, and whooping cough. Even though this is 1990, nationalism in normal Europe is not in fashion and borders are not very popular, either. We Czechs have all had childhood illnesses and there is no reason for us to reproach others for going through this stage of their development. Despite the initial national certainty, every nation sooner or later stumbles across values of a higher order.

Two things, however—which were impossible to overlook—shook me out of my dreamy tolerance. The speaker's self-confidence, which bordered on arrogance, and the role that the "Meciar Plan" adjudicates to Czechs. Statements such as "we will not tolerate," "we will not permit," and "we are no longer so lenient here" were saturated with animosity, but other ones were even more hurtful: "There is no federal nation!" I object to this with sadness. There is, perhaps, such a thing as a federal citizen? When I say this, I am not talking about the "wires which cannot hold in two nations," but about the—in essence—gracious consent to the customs-free movement of goods. The inconspicuous reminder about where the oil and gas pipelines lead was merely a cherry on an already sour cake.

The "Meciar Plan" would designate the Czech lands an extremely important role in the Federation: Being the joint guarantor of Slovakia's southern borders. What else? I do not know about anything.

When listening to the Slovak premier's speech, however, I could not forget his partner in the Trencianske Teplice "deliberations"—The Czech premier. We Czechs were not protected from certain humiliation by having to find out about the practical results of the Trencianske Teplice meeting from somewhere else. For several weeks, no one took the trouble to inform us—citizens of the Czech Republic—about the meeting. What is worse, the information we were able to gather here and there was, obviously, untrue. There was talk about "consultations," "conferences," and "meetings." However, something else was, obviously, going on; I have no reason for not believing Mr. Meciar about this. In Trencianske Teplice the unprepared Czech premier accepted the well-thought-out plan suggested by the prepared Slovak representatives.

I know there will still be a great deal of talking, speculation, shouting, and rhetoric. I, however, dare to make one claim today: The clothes belonging to Deputy Moric, which Premier Meciar is suggesting the Federation should wear, will not suit it at all.

Commentary Rejects Czech Criticism of Meciar

AU3108185990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Aug 90 p 2

[Igor Cibula commentary: "A Feeling of Superiority Still Prevails"]

[Text] Not so very long ago, Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNS], was a target of the Prague press because of his nationalist orientation; now Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar is on the receiving end of this "honor." The harshest words against the Slovak premier were penned by Jiri Hanak in yesterday's LIDOVE NOVINY, where he attacked the "Meciar Plan" from Trencianske Teplice in rather uncouth words. Hanak's criticism also focussed on Czech Premier Petr Pithart because the "unprepared" premier accepted the well-thought-out plan put forward by the Slovak representatives.

In order to complete the criticism being heaped upon the Slovak premier, LIDOVE NOVINY's readers—for the sake of objectivity—were also informed that, at a meeting of the Slovak National Council [SNR], the Slovak premier sharply rejected a discussion on the draft laws with the following words: "Government resolutions are binding for ministers, and if they do not want to act in unison in their spirit, they do not have to remain in the government." Otherwise, the so-called independent Czechoslovak daily did not write one more word about the SNR session. The reason for this was, perhaps, to make sure that there was enough space for the views expressed by Jan Urban who, in an allusion to the activity of "radical nationalistic and regionalistic groups," did not forget to mention the "impatient national governments."

Some Prague political circles do not consider the Trencianske meeting to be "absolutely nonbinding." Despite the fact that the Czech Republic Government demonstrated complete solidarity with the Slovak Republic Government on 22 August and approved the results of the Trencianske Teplice meeting, there are many people relying on the Federal Assembly to slow down the process of changes oriented toward establishing an authentic federation of two sovereign republics. In this connection, several journalists are assuring their readers that Slovakia is incapable of existing at the moment without the Czech economy.

The realistically thinking part of the Czech political milieu reacts in a more sober manner to the current development in Czech-Slovak relations. There are even those who openly admit that the Czech "feeling of superiority, to a certain extent, still prevails." In yesterday's Prague PRACE—in an obvious allusion to President Vaclav Havel—there even appeared the rebuke that "it is time to stop thinking about foreign missions to the United States and Mexico and to stop worrying about the fascist past of other presidents." The independent weekly RESPEKT wrote bluntly: "It is a pity the president did not find the time to send at least one word of greeting to the manifestation of fraternity in Javorina." The journal emphasized the tradition of meeting on the Slovak-Moravian border and commented that at Javorina Jan Carnogursky expressed his support for a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks.

More on Results of Slovak Parliament Session

AU3108224790

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 28, 29, and 30 August, on pages 1 and 2 in each instance, publishes 400 to 1,000-word CTK or correspondents' reports on the third session of the Slovak National Council [SNR], which was held in Bratislava from 27 to 29 August.

On 27 August, the opening day of the session, the Slovak parliament held a debate on the Slovak nationalists' demands raised at a rally held in Ruzomberok on 26 August to commemorate Andrej Hlinka, Slovak priest and nationalist politician who died in 1938. According to the NARODNA OBRODA report of 28 August, "Ivan Carnogursky, SNR first deputy chairman, pointed out that the government and the SNR have long been dealing with the issues raised in Ruzomberok. The difference is that the government wants a peaceful solution, without emotions, whereas some speakers in Ruzomberok were intent on stirring up passions." The report then quotes Ivan Carnogursky as having said that "from 1918 to the present no government and no parliament, including those which called themselves the government and parliament of an independent Slovak State [during World War II], have taken so many specific steps for the genuine independence of the Slovak nation as have been taken in the last weeks and months."

Speaking in the same debate, Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier of the Slovak Republic, "gave a detailed explanation of the activity of the government up to this time in the area of the codification of the Slovak language as the official language in the Slovak Republic." He said, furthermore, that the government "observes with anxiety the growth of national intolerance" between Slovaks and Hungarians in the southern part of Slovakia and denied that there have been any cases of "discriminatory measures by Slovak or federal bodies directed against the Hungarian ethnic minority."

During the 27 August SNR meeting Jan Chmelo (Public Against Violence movement) was sworn in as new SNR deputy. Chmelo is said to have filled the "vacated seat of Deputy Martin Huba." No reason for Huba's resignation is given.

Another item on the agenda of the SNR session was the "SNR law on elections to the bodies of local administration." According to Anton Andras, Slovak minister of interior, who introduced the bill, "the law enshrines a majority electoral system. It is based on the premise that in the forthcoming municipal elections, voters will elect personalities and not only a political party or movement which, moreover, have not yet gained a sufficiently clear profile in many communities." The law, which the deputies subsequently passed, also provides for the direct election of mayors.

Finally, the SNR session also passed a law "on salaries and expenses reimbursement of SNR deputies." The law sets the salary of SNR deputies at 7,000 korunas a month. In addition, the deputies will receive a "travel allowance" of 2,000 korunas a month plus a lump sum of 3,000 korunas a month as "compensation for other expenditures connected with the execution of their duties as deputies."

Because of the extensive debate on the above laws, the SNR session decided to postpone the discussion of an additional eight "items" that were on its original agenda. They will be dealt with by the fourth SNR session, to be held on 3 September.

On 30 August, on page 14, NARODNA OBRODA publishes the 150-word "Law of the Slovak National

Council Declaring 1 November 1990 the Day of Reconciliation" and a 500-word "explanatory statement" on this law. According to the explanatory statement, 1 November will be celebrated as a public holiday in Slovakia this year, in memory of "victims of political violence." A permanent Slovak national day will be declared only later, once the "national historical events, personalities, and their significance are objectively assessed." For the time being, the SNR "does not consider it suitable to elevate any event of Slovak history to the level of a national day" because "owing to national oppression and the totalitarian regime, Slovak national history is marked by distortion, suppression of facts, and taboos."

Platform for Uniting Slovak Non-Communist Left

AU3008204090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Aug 90 p 2

[Igor Cibula article: "An Attempt To Set the Left Back on its Feet; the Social Union of Slovakia as a Counterweight to the Right"]

[Text] The Social Union of Slovakia [Socialna unia Slovenska], which has been established on the initiative of Social Democrats, Democratic Socialists, and other left-wing political groups, should, in the intentions of its organizers, set the non-communist left on its feet so that it may exist as a real counterweight to the right. This attempt to constitute an organized platform for left-wing forces is not the first step of its kind. Even before the June elections, the Party of Democratic Socialists came up with a similar proposal. It called then for the creation of the Social Democratic Movement of Slovakia but the Social Democrats—the main potential partner—did not react to this call because they could not resist the temptation of testing their strength in the parliamentary elections.

So far, the founders of the new left-wing platform with a social democratic orientation have not managed to win for their cause representatives of the Obroda [Revival] Club, which associates reform Communists from the year 1968 and which, together with Alexander Dubcek, ran in the elections on the ticket of the Public Against Violence [VPN] civic movement. Obroda has its own deputies in parliament and it has among its members some leading representatives of the Slovak political intelligentsia and top experts. It needs to be added, however, that Obroda's sociopolitical activity exceeds by a multiple factor the strength of its membership base.

The Social Union of Slovakia does not reckon with the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] [as its member] because it can scarcely be regarded as a left-wing political party in the original meaning of that word. The CPSL is a conservative political party, which is presently a conglomerate of several ideologies. Burdened by the heritage of totalitarianism, it remains a captive of its anachronistic social stereotype that it is the party which expresses interests of the manually working citizens. Even though the communist leaders flirt with social democratic ideas, social demagogy is closer to them than a positive social program. These facts do not rule out the possibility, however, of a significant portion of the Communist Party's voters becoming the social base of the new left.

The real political influence of the Social Union of Slovakia will also to a considerable extent depend on how successful it will be in opening itself up to the political center, which is represented in Slovakia chiefly by the VPN. Without this, the Social Union of Slovakia will be unable to overcome the isolation of the left on the fringe of the present political spectrum.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 August, page 2, carries a 700-word "Statement of the Social Union of Slovakia," which states that this newly founded organization intends to point out possible negative consequences of government decisions, defend the social guarantees of citizens, and participate in drafting a socially oriented economic policy]

Slovak Assembly Approves Local Government Bill

LD0309180390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Alice Bielikova, Michal Tvarozek report from fourth meeting of Slovak National Council deputies in Bratislava—live]

[Text] [Tvarozek] There was applause in the debating chamber 20 minutes ago. It meant that the government-sponsored Slovak National Council draft bill on the system of local government was approved. One hundred and six deputies were in favor, 10 against, and 15 abstained. In my view the unequivocal result was rather suprising, especially in light of the fact that this first item on the agenda has been discussed since 0900 today. More than 50 submissions were made in the committees and another 20 were submitted directly, here in the chamber. Deputies put forward new proposals and counterproposals and made controversial points. Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, therefore had to announce breaks in the proceedings to enable standpoints to be united during them and ensure that the meeting could proceed further.

[Bielikova] This bill is extraordinarily important because the national committees have up to now been mere administrators of property in the state ownership. There does not exist a basic prerequisite for a genuine local self-administration in the form of the communities' own property. Thus communities have up to now not been legal subjects and according to the new bill they do have to become such if the new social mechanism is to function at the local level. This presupposes an enormous number of functions, rights, and duties for a community, mostly linked with finances and property, and this has caused the greatest friction. But the bill, as you already have heard, has now been approved and the proceedings continue with a political debate in which 26 deputies asked for the floor.

Slovak Republic Plans Own Television Service

LD3008200790 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] A working meeting of management employees of Slovak Television took place in the Slovak Television [Center] in Bratislava today. It was attended by Jiri Kanturek, director general of Czechoslovak Television, and Roman Kalisky, head of Slovak Television. The agenda of the debate included questions pertaining to new concepts of broadcasts of both national televisions, the federal broadcasts, the OK3 program, as well as questions of the legal position of television. Because the new conception of broadcasts should begin as early as 3 September, we asked in this connection:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What are results of your talks?

[First unidentified speaker] To be brief, they are positive and specific. We agreed how we are going to coordinate our activities between the Czech and Slovak television [services] in the spheres of creating programs, foreign relations, concepts of technical development, as well as internal economic relations. Allow me to give an example of the first actual step: On 3 September we will launch a joint federal program under the title of "F1" where the results of our talks will be reflected actually on the screen, because the television must serve its viewers.

[Second unidentified speaker] I must tell our viewers about a basic piece of information: We all know about the existence of Slovak Television; now we have begun specific talks about setting up Czech Television. We have agreed with Dr. Pithart and Dr. Buresova on the progress. As a result of my decision, Mr. (Jiri Pittermann), head of the programs department of our television, has been assigned to prepare for the establishment of Czech Television from the organizational, personnel, and economic points of view. We started intensive work on draft bills on Czech Television. So there is no doubt about Czech and Slovak Television. The remaining problem is to complete the solution of federal broadcasts from the newscasts point of view, that is, basically the existence or nonexistence of—so to speak—federal television. We have not agreed on these matters yet and we expect that they will be tackled in the ninth group—in one of those government commissiosn which will discuss the results of Trencianske Teplice. [end recording]

Comparison of Slovak Ministers Appointed

AU3108105290

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 30 August on pages 1 and 2 carries a 400-word "(NO, CTK)"-signed report on a session of the Slovak National Council Presidium, held in Bratislava on 29 August after the conclusion of the third meeting of the Slovak National Council. This item has been compared with the Prague CTK English version published in the 5 September East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 18, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph four, line two reads: Jozef Belcak—Ministry of Economy (changing name of ministry)

Column one, paragraph four, last line reads: Vojtech Bacho was appointed general prosecutor of the Slovak Republic. (providing alternate spelling of name)

Czech Premier Replies to Criticism of Government

LD3108225190 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)—Czech Premier Petri Pithart today replied to criticism that his government was losing initiative and was not sufficiently resolute in the current discussions on the future form of the federative set-up in Czechoslovakia and the role of the constituent Czech and Slovak republics in it.

"From the beginning it was also our effort, not only the effort of Slovakia, to restructure the centralistically and bureaucratically-built federation" which did not receive its present form with the approval of the law on the federation on October 28, 1968 but at the time of the commencing of "normalization" in 1970, Pithart, premier of the larger of Czechoslovakia's two constituent republics, said.

He announced that the two national governments would meet in Piestany on September 10 and 11. The host, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar invited also Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa and some representatives of the federal government to the session. All the three prime ministers will meet before this session, probably in Kromeriz, Moravia. "You see that none of us wants to play a lone hand", he said on Czechoslovak television.

A participant in a meeting of representatives of the three governments at Trencianske Teplice on August 8-9, Pithart described it as a "working session", not a "summit as it was misleadingly described by television", called by the federal government. He said that the Czech Government had taken initiative from the start of the moves for joint approach to the issues of the state structure. It had called the first meeting of representatives of the Czech and Slovak Governments and later a meeting with economics ministers.

"At Trencianski Teplice we agreed to propose jointly certain important changes in the set-up of the federation", Pithart said and announced it was agreed that the proposals be assessed by experts and democratically approved or rejected. Let us not overtake developments, he said.

"We assume that the proposals from Trencianske Teplice are not just an option valid temporarily, that they represent a propsect for long years to come. I want to say by this that I trust the word of the Slovak Government. Mistrust between us would lead to irreparable damage. No constitution or constitutional court could then keep the common state together."

He said that he did not see the manifestation of resolve in strong words but in "maintaining one's stand and insisting that the partners keep their word."

He said that just as the Slovak premier spoke before the Slovak National Council (parliament) last Monday, he too would address the Czech National Council next Tuesday, one week later because the Czech parliament's holiday was one week longer.

"Mr Meciar spoke very resolutely and many people in the Czech Republic do not like this. I, on the contrary, am impressed how he energetically copes with his domestic opponents, with nationalists and separatists. The Czech Government sympathizes with him in this effort".

Pithart said his own speech about the future desirable form of the federation would be detailed and concrete. "The federation must not become an empty word ... meaning something else for everybody." "I will speak differently than Mr. Meciar. Not just because I am different but because the Czech Republic is different from the Slovak Republic, because we, Czechs, Moravians and Silesians, are different from the Slovaks.

He said the Czech Government would insist that the main thing is not to change the status of economic ministries but to make them unnecessary in the market economy.

Pithart said he would insist that his speech be presented in the same way as that of the Slovak premier was on the state-wide television. "Only well-informed citizens can be politically oriented." The new form of the federation will be decided neither by the Czech or the Slovak premier nor by these two governments but by the deputies, he said.

Czech Government Approves Economic Reform Plan

LD3008223490 Prague CTK in English 2146 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government approved today a blueprint for economic reform. Consensus was reached on almost all points, with the exception of the exchange rate of the crown for which two options have been proposed.

Details were revealed by Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales at a press conference today, following a session of the government.

The scenario was prepared by economics ministers of the government and discussed with their colleagues in the Governments of the Czech and the Slovak Republic who are members of the Economic Council.

Privatisation will consist of three major steps: A set of measures to remove obstacles to private enterprise, opening the scope for privatisation in the services and small businesses and privatisation or large enterprises. Blueprints for the first two are to be finished by September 15, the last step is to take place on the basis of a transformation law which is to be completed within three to four months.

Vales said that there is also consensus on the role of investment coupons which will be one of the instruments of privatisation. They will be sold below the market price, and the proportion of the national wealth to be involved will be decided by the parliament. Also other forms of privatisation, including the participation of foreign capital, will be used.

On liberalisation of prices the blueprint provides for some regulation based on market principles and for measures which will strengthen the position of the buyer in relation to the supplier.

The two options for the exchange rate of the crown in the conditions of internal convertibility propose devaluation to 17-20 or 24-30 crowns to the U.S. dollar. According to experts, both Czechoslovak and foreign, a rate of 20 crowns to the dollar against 15.58 at present is considered the most likely.

The blueprint also deals with external aspects of the economic reform and with an ecological program.

By September 15, enterprises are to receive basic information on the projected principles of taxation and payments to the budget.

The scenario will be submitted for approval to the Federal Parliament, which made it a condition when it approved the government program last July 11.

Vales said that the blueprint is based on the principle of a single economy within the federative state. He noted that its rejection by parliament would mean a resignation of the government but, in his opinion, this is not likely.

A report on today's session said that the government also heard information on yesterday's talks between Vaclav Vales and Deputy Premier of the Russian Federation Gennadiy Filshin, which opened the way for Czechoslovakia to receive oil from this largest Soviet republic for Czechoslovak goods. This means that Czechoslovakia would preserve one of its largest foreign markets, although in new conditions when accounting will be in dollars at world prices.

The government discussed an agreement with Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg abolishing visas for tourist trips. It agreed that a commercial agreement be signed with the Korean Republic, including a most-favoured-nation clause, and that a mixed commission be set up.

Prague TV Transmitter To Begin Testing

LD3108204390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Jaroslav Koran, the mayor of Prague, and his deputies briefed reporters today on a number of new decisions made by the Council of the Prague City National Committee. For example, the Council came out in favor of establishing a single state enterprise to provide public transport in the city. This is opposed by a demand by the Metro Transport Enterprise which wants to become independent and is pushing for the status quo to be retained.

From Monday [3 September] a new television transmitter at Prague-Zizkov is to begin test transmissions. For this purpose it will be using channel 37, and it will test all possible performance options.

The Council of the Prague City National Committee is also preparing more consistent measures against various kinds of money-changers and prostitutes.

Solidarity's 10th Anniversary Noted in Prague

Havel, Diestbier Attend Ceremony

LD3108180790 Warsaw PAP in English 1108 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, Aug. 1—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier were among the guests of a late evening ball held at the Polish Embassy here to mark the 10th anniversary of Solidarity. Both are members of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity.

"I am still a member of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity. I think that it is a typical example of how much can be achieved through mutual understanding and assistance," Havel told Polish newsmen.

"The creation of Solidarity was the spark which ignited the flame which turned into a fire. Without Solidarity the changes in the Soviet bloc, in East European states, would have been more complicated. It was the Poles who paved the way to freedom for other nations," the president said, adding:

"Personally, I firmly and categorically favour the opening of the Polish-Czechoslovak border. Maintaining an iron border in the north of the country, one cutting us off from a befriended country, is an obvious absurdity. This coming Sunday I will probably travel to this border and will participate in a demonstration favouring the dismantling of border barriers. This does not automatically mean that this postulate will be met, this decision rests with governments and requires technical arrangements, but I am 'in favour' and will express this."

President Havel also admitted that the first man who said he would be president as early as last July was Polish Solidarity activist Adam Michnik.

Jaruzelski, Havel Favor Open Border

LD3108222690 Prague CTK in English 1612 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw/Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)—Polish and Czechoslovak Presidents Wojciech Jaruzelski and Vaclav Havel are opposed to the present closure of cross-border traffic for normal travel between their countries.

President Jaruzelski believes that after the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, "maintaining border barriers between friendly countries is an anachronism."

He made this comment in a written answer to CTK's question about his opinion on the continued closure of the Czechoslovak Polish border for normal traffic.

Vaclav Havel has in the meantime told the Polish news agency PAP that he is "resolutely for the opening" of the border and said he would probably take part in a protest in the Giant Mountains to demand lifting of the regulations next Sunday [9 September]. "It is an obvious nonsense to maintain in the north of the country an iron curtain which separates us from a friendly state," he said.

Wojciech Jaruzelski commented: "In my opinion this is very bad. It is not a normal situation. After the Berlin Wall has been torn down, maintaining border barriers between friendly states is an anachronism, all the more so that we may want to live in a common European home in the nearest future," he said.

Jaruzelski wrote that the Polish authorities had many times expressed their readiness for a broad opening of cross-border contacts. "A bold, foresighted decision is all that is necessary," he said.

Vaclav Havel noted that the protest did not mean that the demand would be automatically met because the decision was within the jurisdiction of the government.

Czechoslovak Deputy Finance Minister Frantisek Pavelka told the daily MLADA FRONTA today that according to Poland everything was in order but not so according to Czechoslovakia and "certain agreements" were necessary for the border to be opened.

The major problems are a disproportionate tourist exchange rate of the crown and the zloty to correspond better to the higher Polish demand, and observance of customs regulations, often made impossible by overcrowded trains.

Leaders, Ambassador at Gathering

LD0209141390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] The first of three joint demonstrations on the Czechoslovak-Polish state border has taken place today at Pomezni Boudy in the Krkonose Mountains. The event, organized by Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity, was also attended by President Vaclav Havel, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Polish Ambassador to Czechoslovak Jacek Baluch, and other guests.

Joint Rally for Open Border

LD0209190890 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 2 (CTK)—Immediate resumption of free movement along the Czechoslovak-Polish border, abolition of administrative barriers to tourism between the two countries, and quick and radical increasing of the number of border crossings were urged at a joint demonstration of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity at Pomezni Boudy on the state border in the Giant Mountains today.

The Solidarity's demands were backed by all speakers at the demonstration. Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said he will do everything for the Iron Curtain separating the two close countries and nations to be lifted as soon as possible.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told the participants that the Czechoslovak Government has been seeking since the beginning of this year the abolition of the measures introduced in 1982, probably out of fear of Solidarity infection. There have been various economic objections, the minister said, but added that it is not possible only to see the fact that some citizens abuse trips across the borders for personal enrichment. This is not essential. What matters is the establishment of normal cooperation without any obstacles, it is necessary to show to Europe that we are capable of opening ourselves to one another and of reaching agreement, the minister added.

Similar demonstrations are planned by Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity on September 16 and on September 23.

Deputy Premier Vales Explains USSR Trade Pact

LD0209045590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales by Barbara Tacheci in Prague on 1 September—recorded]

[Text] [Tacheci] Mr. Deputy Premier, the agreement signed today in fact definitively makes the proposals made at the 45th session of the CEMA in Sofia, at least in relation to the Soviet Union, into legislation. Could you briefly summarize what this agreement means for Czechoslovak-Soviet trade relations?

[Vales] The basic change is contained in the fact that mutual trade relations will be carried out on the same principles valid for international trade between economies with a market economy. This means that we will trade for world prices, under world conditions, and the prices will also be dependent on the quality and the service of the product. In this direction, this is an important factor for us in connection with the reform which we are beginning, because it will not differentiate between the difficulties of the markets and it will not enable a way out for enterprise or for us by having so-called softer and harder markets—simply, there will be a world market and a part of it is the Soviet Union.

[Tacheci] Does this mean that all types of goods which are the subject of trade exchange will be exchanged in freely convertible currency and at world prices? Is that the case?

[Vales] In principle yes, although concerning some areas of production, and on the Soviet side this concerns raw material deliveries, we were successful in agreeing on a certain transitional state which may continue in the future. This does not change anything in the character of world conditions, but it enables us to accept the principles that on our part we will pay for raw materials with goods. There will be deliveries of what I would call packages—until now we have been calling it level one, in the future it could be on level two or three, depending on the jurisdiction of the partners on the Soviet side, tied into certain barter trade according to indication lists of products on our side.

[Tacheci] And these indication lists will de facto be set up by the center?

[Vales] They will be the subject of an actual agreement between the Soviet Government and also between the republic governments, and probably also between some spheres. So on the one side they will express the possibilities for supply by the partner in the Soviet Union and the interest in these deliveries on our side, so in no case will these be lists selected at will, but they will represent mutual possibilities and needs.

[Tacheci] Do you already have an idea what percentage these indication lists should cover of the entire mutual foreign trade exchange?

[Vales] We assume that on the Union level it could amount to between 20-25 percent; on the level of the Russian Federation and some other republics which would have powers to conclude these agreements, it can amount to a further 30-35 percent, and obviously about 5-10 percent can be covered by the regions. My estimation is that it will altogether amount to 50-60 percent of the former volume.

[Tacheci] Speaking about the prospects of the Czechoslovak-Soviet trade relations, the surplus which we will reach in our trade with the Soviet Union by the end of this year cannot be omitted. Did you reach any agreement with the Soviet partner about how we will use this surplus?

[Vales] It will amount probably to 500 or 600 million rubles [R], and we agreed—and this is a part of the agreement document—that this will be converted to freely convertible currency and will be, especially at the beginning of next year, the only or main source to pay for those supplies being sold on the world market for cash—i.e., raw materials, crude oil.

[Tacheci] Did you already reech an agreement on the conversion coefficient to be used for this surplus?

[Vales] During talks about the value of this coefficient, we exchanged the data prepared by both sides and we will try to conclude a specific agreement on the value of this coefficient as quickly as possible—the deadline given in the agreement is two months, but today we agreed to do it quicker, for instance in one month's time. The coefficient will be decisive for all the existing obligations—this means also for the conversion of the obligations as stated by the long-term cooperation agreements as well as for conversion of a credit provided by the former government as the bridging credit. This amounts to those R2 billion.

[Tacheci] Mr. Deputy Premier, the last question: At today's press conference after the signing of the agreement, it was said that the turnover of foreign trade between the two countries reached or respectively would reach roughly R11 billion. Do you think that this volume will be roughly the same next year—of course, after the appropriate conversion to freely convertible currencies—or will it be reduced?

[Vales] I do not think that we will succeed in keeping this volume—it would be a big success indeed if we preserved 80-85 percent of the previous volume. This not because we would, for instance, lack possibilities to supply—but I am afraid that regarding the volume which will depend on direct contacts between enterprises, it will be very complicated to create a mutually manageable internal mechanism. We are, of course, capable of forming such conditions for the enterprises that they can export to the Soviet Union and import from there. On the Soviet side, a different mechanism is being envisaged for the time being. This is one of the points I will discuss, not only today and tomorrow with Minister Katushev, but we are also preparing a visit to Moscow in order to hold talks with the appropriate members of the central government as well as national governments to overcome this obstacle.

More on Trade Agreement

LD0209053790 Prague Television Service in Czech 1750 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales and Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, by unidentified correspondent in Prague on 1 September—recorded; Katushev speaks on Russian with Czech translation superimposed]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, the talks which preceded the conclusion of today's agreement took place over a long time and were considerably complex. Nonetheless, they have succeeded. What does this agreement mean for us?

[Vales] The signing of the agreement was really preceded by talks conducted at first by Minister Barcak and later by my late colleague, Stracar, and the agreement today, in fact, marks the culmination of the difficult talks which were connected with the transition of our relations to free trade and free currency conditions. This sounds rather simple, but in reality it amounts to a radical change for both sides in the existing relations. We have succeeded in finding a certain modification whereby we can provide in the basic area, such as in mutual relations in the field of raw material supplies, a certain method which will ensure during a transitional period up to 1991, although this does not rule out our use of this method also next year, that such supplies are mutually linked on our part with an indicative list of countersupplies, either engineering or consumer goods supplies, in order, to put it simply, to pay with goods for raw materials. This, however, does not mean that the basic principle governing supplies and mutual trade under the conditions of freely convertible currencies and world prices and world quality has changed. This means for us that the Soviet market has become, through this agreement, one of the world markets with equal conditions, but nonetheless providing certain greater opportunities because we are on the Soviet market at home, so to speak, and possess a certain know-how in operating on that market. It only depends on us to grab this opportunity.

The second important contribution in our agreement is to use the financial surplus we anticipate this year to pay for next year's imports. It is a well-known fact that the structure of supplies has a different character in regard to world payment conditions. Raw materials are paid for immediately, while a number of engineering products are supplied on credit or are paid for after a lapse of several months. The agreement also provides a framework for the conclusion of specific contracts for that section which is within the competence of Union authorities. The agreement nonetheless provides a certain basic framework for future discussions at the level of republics and regions which are to get this authority, and the agreement sets such framework conditions. In other words, the agreement makes it possible to maintain all relations that have already been built and which continue to be advantageous and interesting to both sides in the new conditions.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, how do you see the future development of our trade relations?

[Katushev] The agreement we have signed along with Mr. Vales moves our market economic relations onto a new qualitative level. In our mutual economic relations we are moving over to the generally valid rules governing internatioal trade. We have agreed to work within the framework of a new system of mutual relations, totally different from those which operated formerly within the framework of the CEMA. This means that we shall set the prices of goods in freely convertible currencies on the basis of prices prevailing on world markets. This will increase mutual incentives for enterprises both in the

Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, incentives for manufacturers who will be at the same time exporters, and this will also be manifested in the manufacture of goods that will be competitive and can be offered both our countries' markets.

The present situation is such that 58 percent of our imports from Czechoslovakia consists of maachinery and equipment manufactured by your enterprises. This is in line with the needs of the Soviet Union's national economy. Ranking within this 50 percent are complete manufacturing plants, individual components, including spare parts, for the needs of most branches of the Soviet economy. Here I think our task is, as we have discussed it here with Mr. Vales, to ensure the maintenance of existing relations and lay down foundations for the maximal utilization. This, however, means not merely to maintain the existing cooperation, but also to broaden the variety and the volume of goods which would be of interest to both sides.

We, the Soviet side, have an interest in manufacturing good quality products and technological equipment which we could offer on the Czechoslovak market. We no longer want to be the supplies of raw materials and semi-products. It is clear to us that this is a very complicated area of our mutual cooperation with which we must deal and ensure its development. [passage omitted]

New Ways Sought To Increase Soviet Oil Supply

AU3008180490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Aug 90 p 2

["(ci)"-signed report: "Prefabricated Houses for Crude Oil"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The oil fields near the town of Tumen have recently been visited by a delegation of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions [CSKOS]. With its Soviet partner, the Trade Union of Oil Industry Workers, it held preliminary talks on the possibilities of increasing supplies of Soviet crude oil. These supplies would be effected in direct exchange for [Czechoslovak] prefabricated homes for Soviet oil industry workers. Both sides would charge dollars for their deliveries.

In an attempt to contribute to the solution of the situation [caused by cuts in Soviet oil supplies], the CSKOS is also considering the possibility of establishing a Czechoslovak-Soviet consortium for importing crude oil and exporting various types of merchandise. Czechoslovak members of the consortium should include, among other things, the Chemapol company, but also enterprises with production surpluses which cannot be sold on other markets.

The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic presently imports some 38,000 tonnes of crude oil a day. In the first 10 days of August, this amount increased to 42,000 tonnes, but it could drop to 20,000 tonnes a day. This would pose the threat of exhaustion of reserves and compel the closure of some petrochemical facilities. The trade unionists' endeavor to help solve the situation therefore deserves praise.

Dubcek Receives Visiting U.S. Senators

LD0109191190 Prague CTK in English 1427 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Prague, 1 Sep (CTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman (parliament) Alexander Dubcek told a delegation of U.S. senators led by Robert Dole that Czechoslovakia will ensure guarantees for its foreign trade partners that are usual in the world.

Alexander Dubcek said that the present trend in the development of Czechoslovak-U.S. relations corresponds to Czechoslovakia's interest in cooperation with the United States.

The guests were interested also in questions of continued coexistence of the Czechs and Slovaks thus reacting to certain extreme attitudes as they appeared in Slovakia in the past period when some circles called for secession of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia.

The parliament chairman said that the causes of these phenomena must be eliminated, and assured the senators that in tune with the opinion of an overwhelming majority of the Czechs and Slovaks the joint federal republic will be preserved.

Joint Communications Venture With U.S. Firms

AU2908110590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] Within a month, the Federal Ministry of Communications and the US WEST and Bell Atlantic companies will finalize a contract on the founding of a joint enterprise. The enterprise, in which the Czechoslovak side will have a 51-percent stake, will build and operate a cellular telephone network and a packet data network. The Americans have promised the building of these networks in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava within one year.

Jeszenszky, Dienstbier at Prague Press Briefing

LD2808194690 Prague CTK in English 1846 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said at a press conference here today that Hungary does not recognize the 1920 Trianon agreement but added that the Hungarian Government recognizes the 1947 peace agreement as well as the Helsinki conference Final Act opposing any violent change of borders.

On the basis of the Trianon agreement, Hungary had to pass parts of its territory to Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Austria after the fall of Austria-Hungary.

Jeszenszky said that Hungary's interest in Hungarian minorities in foreign countries does not mean that the country wants to deal with changing the borders in Europe.

Asked whether the Hungarian Government would change its view after a hypothetical birth of independent Slovakia, the minister said that this problem is really so hypothetical that it does not make sense to discuss it. He admitted that besides Hungary's relations with the Czechoslovak Federation there are specific relations between Hungary and the Slovak Republic. That is why the Hungarian side wishes to meet with representatives of the Slovak Government in Budapest and Bratislava.

Asked by journalists about the most serious disputes between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Geza Jeszenszky said that no questions appeared during their talks in which they would not have agreed.

Jeszenszky described the Warsaw Treaty as a useless institution and announced that Hungary intends to withdraw from its military part at the end of this year. He expressed the hope that its political consultative committee will make progress in the question of a joint European solution to the security system at its autumn session in Budapest.

Asked how long the temporary limitations on entry for Romanian refugees on Hungarian and Czechoslovak territory will last, Geza Jeszenszky said that he is not able to imagine future Europe with any restrictions and that the Hungarian Government is for free crossing of borders. Jiri Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia has not yet been a country sought by refugees. If the country wants, however, to be part of Europe it must accept refugees and people in need as other countries.

OF Welcomes Iraqi Students' Call For Solidarity

LD3109223190 Prague CTK in English 2005 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)—Representatives of the Union of Iraqi Students in Czechoslovakia today called on the Czechoslovak public and all champions of democracy and peace to express their solidarity with Iraqi forces condemning the illegitimate occupation of small Kuwait.

In a open letter presented to CTK, the students also called for the establishment of committees of friendship and solidarity with the Iraqi people in Czechoslovakia.

The initiative was welcomed by the Coordinating Centre of the Civic Forum [OF] Movement.

Canadian Revenue Minister Meets Leaders

Talks With President Havel

LD3008184990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] In Prague Castle today President Vaclav Havel received Otto Jelinek, Canadian minister of national revenue. They spoke about the promising development of opportunities for trade cooperation between the two countries and about Canada's experiences with the federal system, as well as about recent disputes there about the common Canadian Constitution.

In this context, Otto Jelinek expressed the view that the disintegration of the Canadian federation would lead to a Canada which would be weaker culturally, economically, politically, and socially.

Afterward, the two representatives held short private talks.

Received by Dubcek

LD0109083390 Prague CTK in English 1449 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, 31 Aug (CTK)—Chairman of the Federal Assembly (parliament) Alexander Dubcek received today visiting Canadian Minister of National Revenue Otto Jelinek.

Dubcek told the Canadian minister about legislation now under preparation to open the scope for private enterprise and for the participation of foreign capital in the Czechoslovak economic reform. He appreciated Canada's new approach to economic and commercial cooperation with Czechoslovakia and the personal effort of Otto Jelinek which has yielded concrete results, for instance in the form of the agreement preventing double taxation signed yesterday.

Mr Jelinek assured the parliament president about the interest of the Canadian Government in developing cooperation with Czechoslovakia, which has good prerequisites and tradition. He told him that Canadian experts are to come to Czechoslovakia to help with a tax reform.

Confers With Slovak Premier

LD0109190990 Prague CTK in English 1445 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava, 1 Sep (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told visiting Canadian Minister of National Revenue Otto Jelinek here today that his government's main goal is preservation of Czechoslovakia as a federation with the national republics enjoying big economic independence.

The two representatives discussed questions of further, especially economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Canada, with a special emphasis on the territory of Slovakia.

Otto Jelinek stressed the importance of the creation of such an internal political climate which would provide for the development of mutually advantageous and beneficial enterprise. He stressed that his government is ready to become a tool of mediating and easing further Canadian-Czechoslovak cooperation.

The Canadian minister has been in Czechoslovakia on a working visit since August 28 at the invitation of Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

Deputy Defense Minister Ends FRG Visit

LD3109221690 Prague CTK in English 1451 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Bonn, 31 Aug (CTK correspondent)—A detailed program of contacts exists between the Czechoslovak Army and the West German Bundeswehr for 1991-1992.

The West German side is interested in much broader contacts than to date, especially in connection with the unification of Germany, Czechoslovak Deputy Defence Minister Antonin Rasek told CTK at the close of his visit to West Germany today.

He said that contacts should not be limited to army commands but should also take place at lower levels. "If the representatives of our armies meet and good, perhaps even friendly relations are formed between them, it will be good for both armies and countries. As is well known, friends do not shoot at each other", Rasek said.

Czechoslovakia could use the Bundeswehr's experiences for instance in the so-called participation democracy of command which means that the largest possible number of army members if involved in strategic decisions.

Delegation in Sweden for Environment Conference

LD0209164290 Prague CTK in English 1452 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Ronneby, Sweden, Sept 2 (CTK correspondent)—A Czechoslovak delegation led by Federal Government Minister and Chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment Josef Vavrousek arrived here today to take part in a two-day international conference on the environment of the Baltic Sea.

Convened by Swedish Premier Ingvar Carlsson and his Polish colleague Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the conference will be attended in addition to Czechoslovakia and Sweden also by Denmark, Finland, the FRG, the GDR, Norway, Poland, and the European communities.

The environment of the Baltic Sea is to a large degree influenced by the waters from rivers flowing into it from the states situated on it. Counted among them can be also Czechoslovakia since some rivers emptying into the sea have source in its territory and since pollutants are taken by wind from its territory to the sea.

Three Parties Accepted as EDU Members

AU0309183890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Party, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Christian Democratic Party have been admitted as full-fledged members of the European Democratic Union (EDU) in Helsinki. EDU now associates 29 conservative political parties in Europe. Alois Mock, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, was confirmed as EDU chairman.

Army General Chief of Staff Visits Belgium

WA0609142090

For reportage on the visit by Army General Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Anton Slimak to Belgium including his talks with Belgian Defence Minister Guy Coeme, please see the Belgium section of the 6 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Thuringian Miners Strike, Stay Underground

LD0709093490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0806 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Gera (ADN)—Since 0600 Friday, some 5,000 Thuringian Wismut miners have occupied their mines. After the night shift, 2,000 miners refused to start work. They will remain underground until government and party representatives listen to their questions and provide answers. Other workers in the Schmirchau, Beerwalde, Drosen, Paitzdorf, and Aue Wismut mines are taking part in the action above ground.

Employees and employers are united on this issue. In a joint statement, the directorate general of the Wismut AG, the main executive of the Wismut industrial trade union, and the entire works council demand clear statements on the future of the enterprise before the end of September. Uranium mining has no future, as all those involved know. But its ending threatens more than thousands of jobs, an entire region is affected by it. [passage omitted]

New Forum Calls for Decentralizing Stasi Files

AU0609205090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Sep 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "Call for Decentralization of Stasi Files"]

[Text] Berlin—The New Forum has once again demanded that the past of the Stasi [State Security Service] must be dealt with by independent control bodies in the future five East German laender. Yesterday [3 September] at a news conference in Berlin, Baerbel Bohley and Ingrid Koeppe emphasized that the central storage of the more than 6 million Stasi files on private citizens under the surveillance of a commissioner of the FRG Government, which is part of the unification treaty, might constitute "an enormous increase" in information, even about approximately 2 million FRG citizens, on whom there are files. In the opinion of New Forum, more security would be achieved by decentralizing the files and controlling them through independent control bodies.

Stasi Occupiers Send Letter to FRG's Suessmuth

LD0609125990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1209 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The occupiers of the former State Security [Stasi] headquarters building in East Berlin have sent an open letter to FRG Lower House [Bundestag] President Rita Suessmuth. In it they demand that the People's Chamber law on the whereabouts and handling of the 6 million or so Stasi files should be incorporated in the already signed treaty on unification. Rainer Schult of New Forum told the press about this at a news conference this afternoon.

The situation is unchanged, overall, and the occupation is being continued indefinitely. The police are still not allowing journalists onto the site, although different instructions are already supposed to have come from the Interior Ministry. The singer-songwriter Wolf Biermann, who was once deprived of his GDR citizenship, is among the 90 or so occupiers. They will also be joined during the afternoon by Christine Grabe, Green People's Chamber deputy, Schult reported. Members of the Parliament Presidium had already been in the building the previous day.

Ullmann Warns Against Demanding U.S. Rights

LD0609173990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Around 200 people, sympathizing with those occupying Stasi [State Security Service] headquarters in Berlin, assembled this afternoon in front of the main gate of the complex in order to stress their demand that "the files belong to us." For the second time today, Deputy President of the People's Chamber Wolfgang Ullmann (Democracy Now) joined the 22 human rights activists who are demanding that the approximately 6 million Stasi files remain on the territory of the former GDR. He warned the incensed demonstrators against demanding the same rights as in the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, which allows every citizen access to data collected. [passage omitted]

Another demonstration in front of the Stasi headquarters has been called for tomorrow evening.

De Maiziere To Visit Switzerland 10 Sep

LD0609103590 Hamburg DPA in German 0958 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Berne (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere will visit Switzerland on Monday [10 September]. The Foreign Ministry in Berne announced today that De Maiziere will discuss topical political questions with Foreign Minister Rene Felber. Swiss Federal President Arnold Koller will give a dinner for the GDR guest.

Last Four Political Prisoners Released

LD0709112890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] The last four political prisoners were freed this morning in our country; this news came in from Peter Szoerenyi.

[Szoerenyi] There are no more political prisoners in Hungary, at least according to the POFOSZ [Association of Political Prisoners]. Four people who were sentenced years ago were freed this morning. Their names are (Istvan Belovai), (Zoltan Halmi), and Miklos Vadasz Sr. and Jr. All of them had been sentenced by a military court for spying. The former military attache in London, (Belovai), was given life imprisonment, while the others got respectively 15 years, and [two got] 10 years each. As I learned from Arpad Szlama, member of the POVOSZ leadership, they had believed from the outset that these had been fabricated trials. In the case of (Belovai), for example, someone had wanted the lucrative job. What is interesting in the case is that he—that is, (Belovai)—had, at the time, admitted that he had put Soviet military secrets at the disposal of NATO—more precisely, he had informed representatives of what was then the enemy military bloc about the extent to which the Soviet Union was familiar with NATO's defense system. Today, this action can be viewed as being one of the important stations in the system-change, the leaders of POFOSZ said. With this reasoning, therefore, they managed to bring the last four political prisoners out of prison.

Resolution on Secret Service Submitted

LD0309201690 Budapest MTI in English 1649 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—The first regular working day of parliament drew to an end in Budapest at a few minutes after 4 pm on Monday. The legislators passed a resolution on modifying certain laws related to the change in the division of government work.

Parliament is to continue its session on Tuesday with a detailed debate on unresolved questions with the mayor's office.

The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] held a press briefing in parliament on Monday. Party executive Gabor Demszky said:

"We consider it an absurd situation that the government parties or the government should possess information which should no longer be monopolized in a multi-party democracy. The AFD has submitted a bill to parliament to remedy this affair. Accordingly, parliament should urgently discuss the provision on the treatment of data relating to officers and individuals of the "highly classified service" who were members of the staff of the III/III Department (Domestic Secret Service) of the Interior Ministry or were on its registers."

As the MP's were only distributed the handouts of the bill on Monday, decision on its inclusion in the agenda is due on Tuesday morning.

Journalists were also told that the bill was being put forward at this time as a result of the forthcoming local elections. Its submitters would like to put an end to the public careers of those people who used to work for the political police of the former regime. Thus, the bill would also prevent potential abuse.

The bill specifies that within eight days after it is enacted, a detailed record should be prepared containing the names and details of individuals who used to be members of the "highly confidential staff of officers"of the former III/III Department, or who were on the Interior Ministry records as network members. One copy is to be given to the president of the republic, one to the prime minister and one to the parliament's National Security Committee.

The bill also says that 60 says after its approval, the president of the republic should publish the names of those persons on the list who held posts which required them to take an oath. These include judges, the president of the republic, members of the goverment and the constitutional court, the president and vice president of the audit office, prosecutors, the parliamentary commissioner for citizens' rights, the president of the National Bank of Hungary, the chief public prosecutor, the president of the Supreme Court, members of parliament and mayors. Under the bill, these measures apply to people who had taken an oath before the president of the republic—or in the period before October 23, 1989, the president of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic—or the prime minister.

Peter Hack, AFD-member of parliament, told the press he hoped the National Assembly would approve the urgent debate of the bill, as it would be desirable that before the local elections those people involved drew the necessary conclusions and voluntarily gave up their candidacy.

In answer to questions it was said that the submitters of the bill had no specific list at their disposal, and even Gabor Demszky, chairman of the National Security Committee, did not have access to these documents.

They said, however, that it was known that the head of the Interior Ministry's department of data processing and information had a file on members of the network staff: the only authentic proof and document containing the names of secret and paid agents.

The list to be published would only include the names of the people who would not withdraw from public activity on their own accord, information on the others would be state secret.

In answer to another question, it was said that although as many as 1,600 secret agents were involved, they had received salaries until quite recently, which would make drawing up the list an easy task.

They said that the number of the network members recruited by secret agents was naturally much higher.

It was also mentioned that the lists of names might be in the possession of other, foreign, organizations. In answer to a question about the identity of these organizations, MTI's correspondent was told that as everyone knew the domestic counter-intelligence bureau had had a very close relationship with the KGB.

In answer to the question whether the current leaders of the democratic opposition or the AFD may have been one-time agents was definite no.

Parliament Approves Bill on Office of Mayor

LD0509221290 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—Following a prolonged debate, Hungarian parliament on Tuesday approved the bill on the office of mayor.

Accordingly, the future mayors cannot fulfill leading party functions, however, they can make statements on behalf of parties. Their salaries will be 80 per cent of the prevailing ministerial salary, with the exception of the mayor of Budapest, whose salary will equal that of the ministers. (Ministerial salaries are a monthly 65,000 forints)

It became clear at the session that the bill includes contradictory passages regarding the labour relations of mayors. Therefore, parliament approved the bill with the stipulation that the government submit its related amendment proposals at the next session of parliament.

The Tuesday session of parliament ended at this point.

Fund To Support Election Candidates Established

LD0409194490 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—President Arpad Goncz, Secretary of State Miklos Palos, and Parliamentary Committee Chairmen Gabor Fodor and Ferenc Wekler told journalists in parliament on Tuesday that a new, 15-million-forint fund was to be set up to support local government candidates of national and ethnic minority organizations.

Monday's decision by parliament to contribute a sum of 10 million forints towards the funding of individual, independent candidates of the national and ethnic minorities, had caused some disappointment. The new fund is designed to contribute to the election-related costs of the minority organizations.

The draft resolution on the uses of the fund will be presented to the government's Thursday session, though it is not on the schedule.

Former MSZMP Head on Current Situation

AU0509113590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with former MSZMP head and Premier Karoly Grosz by Laszlo Rab in Zalaegerszeg on 31 August: "I Am Under Surveillance"—first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Former Premier and Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz used a strong self-critical tone at the meeting held in Zalaegerszeg on 31 August, a meeting shrouded in almost complete secrecy.

Speaking to party members gathered at the headquarters of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] on Pazmany Street in Budapest, Karoly Grosz pointed out that leftist movements have lost momentum all over the world and that the MSZMP did not have time to avoid a turn to the right in Hungary. If the people voted for such a turn to the right, one could not blame the people for that. Perhaps such a turn to the right could have been avoided through administrative measures, but this would have had tragic consequences for Hungary, and one cannot make the people happy against their will....

[Rab] In your view, how should we evaluate MSZMP Chairman Thurmer's recent talks in the Soviet Union?

[Grosz] In my opinion, this is very important because I think that the present government has not paid proper attention to our relations with the Soviet Union. One, however, cannot imagine the future of any Eastern European country without cooperation with the Soviet Union.

[Rab] You look fit and you are much more decisive than when you held a leading position.

[Grosz] If it appears that way to you, it is flattering; but I was also firm in my positions one year ago. Today I feel as if I did not take the correct position in many cases, but I was not uncertain in my opinions then, either. As for the accusation that I frequently changed my opinions, this can be considered a laughing matter given the activity of the present government. All I say is that one who recognizes the truth and adjusts his opinions to the truth is acting correctly. The reason for my evaluating some issues more easily today is that I no longer have the same responsibility as in the past.

[Rab] Do you count on the possibility that your responsibility will also be discussed by various committees?

[Grosz] It is almost natural that this would occur. Look, this government did not deal with the basic problems of our society genuinely during the past 100 days; nor did they outline the direction of development. This means that this government has no other choice but "to call people to account." That is why this government is searching second, third, and fiftieth level issues, including personal issues. The Czinege [former defense minister] affair is only one example. This government would welcome several such issues. There have been no such issues so far, but they would do everything in their power to find such issues. I have been under constant surveillance for the last six months.

[Rab] What do you mean by that?

[Grosz] In the real sense of the word. People are posted at our entrance, people sitting in their cars write down the registration number of cars that come to visit me, and my car is being followed; in other words, I know the reason for all this.

[Rab] In other words, you are kept under surveillance. This is what you meant, is it not?

[Grosz] Naturally. I am under precise and organized surveillance.

[Rab] Who is watching Karoly Grosz? Perhaps the Interior Ministry?

[Grosz] I do not presume that. It is much more plausible that "voluntary" political groups want to know what I am doing these days. They must be inspired by someone, however, must they not? I do not investigate the matter, I do not complain, I do not ask for personal guard, and I am not afraid either, because I am not one of those who get scared. If I have to give an account of my activity, I will gladly accept any kind of legal hearing.

[Rab] Allow me a personal question: Is is true that someone poisoned your dog?

[Grosz] Yes, it is true.

Entrepreneurs Federation Fears Financial Burdens

LD0509120990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report on VOSz news conference by Tibor Hollauer; place not given—live]

[Text] The VOSz [National Federation of Entrepreneurs]—the interest representation of entrepreneurs—believes their members are in a much worse situation for launching into ventures than in the time of the Nemeth government. Tibor Hollauer reports from the VOSz news conference.

[Hollauer] The VOSz is not counting on support, but rather on new taxes, which afflict entrepreneurs. As it was said at the presidium session, ventures are already now operating amid more difficult circumstances than under the Nemeth government. Those present, however, claimed to know about a plan which would empower the local self governments to impose local taxes. According the VOSz presidium, the primary targets everywhere will be the entrepreneurs, from whom something can still be taken. As an antidote, the VOSz is increasing its endeavors in connection with bringing to life local cells and associations of entrepreneurs, independent from the federation. It expects these to represent some degree of political counterbalance in settlements. At the same time, the VOSz presidium also decided to create under its own aegis, new foundations, capital handling organizations which would try to compensate for the complete lack of state support.

Bank Official 'Rules Out' Forint Devaluation

LD0609152190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] The vice chairman of the Hungarian National Bank has, for the time being, ruled out the possibility of further devaluation of the forint.

In TOZSDE KURIR Ferenc Harshegyi says that the forint has definitely strengthened in recent weeks. The National Bank vice chairman considers that it will be possible to achieve limited forint convertibility by the middle of next year. As he says, this can be expected if the black market and the official exchange rates remain close in the future, and a free currancy market can be introduced where the enterprises can buy and sell their convertible currencies without limitations.

Komondor Special Commando Brigade Reorganized

AU0409123090

[Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 31 August on pages 1 and 5, carries a 500-word interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Istvan Pacser on the reorganization of the Komondor brigade (a specially trained commando unit,), under the headline: "A Psychologist Is Needed—New Leader To Head the Komondor."

NEPSZABADSAG notes that on 29 August, Interior Minister Balazs Horvath dismissed Colonel Zoltan Nagy, previous leader of the Komondor brigade, and replaced him with Lieutenant-Colonel Istvan Pacser. Two former members of this commando unit "were recently placed under surveillance, seriously suspected of being hired killers."

Istvan Pacser says he believes that "there is no direct link" between the reorganization of the unit and the incident concerning the two former members. There had already been talk of "hiring a psychologist for an important post in the brigade.

Another reason for the reorganization of the Komondor, he says, is that they "hope to increase the efficiency of the group, because in the future, the Komondor will probably have to intervene more often in the personal protection of politicians and statesmen." In the past, the Komondor was "posted on the Romanian border, and later—but for different reasons—the troop was sent to Hegyeshalom," on the Austrian border.

Former Internal Security Leaders Indicted

LD0609193190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] The Budapest Military Prosecutor's Office has submitted an indictment against the former leaders of the internal security service. According to its reasoning, Ferenc Pallagi, former deputy minister of the interior, and Jozsef Horvath, former chief of group, are responsible—in terms of the criminal law—for failing to take measures to stop the illegal activities of the organization that they headed.

An indictment has also been submitted against Jozsef Vegvari. The police major had breached state secret when giving a statement to the Black Box [Hungarian Television] crew and committed a breach against his duty when allowed strangers in the office of the security service.

The Budapest Military Prosecutor's Office has proposed that the trial be closed to the public in all the above cases in the interest of guarding state secrets.

Hungarian President Speaks at CSFR Embassy

AU2908094990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Slovak 27 Aug 90 p 3

[Ivan Hoffman article: "In Budapest After a Year"]

[Excerpts] At his reception at our Budapest embassy held on the eve of 21 August [the anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion], Ambassador Rudolf Chmel welcomed a selection of guests which rarely comes together in a Budapest embassy. [passage omitted] They included Hungarian President Arpad Goncz; Gyorgy Szabad, the president of parliament; Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszensky; Tamas Katona, his deputy; Gyorgy Varga, specialist in Czech studies, and the future Hungarian ambassador to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. [passage omitted]

In an informal debate, attention focused on questions concerning the Gabcikovo hydropower project and on the position of minorities. Arpad Goncz stressed that problems need not be dramatized, but that it is necessary to continue negotiations among experts and not to allow their interruption. It would be difficult to resume them again, in his opinion. "We have inherited this project from the totalitarian regimes. We must not take upon ourselves any more risk than is necessary. Let us not approach this problem as a national question, but as a technical and ecological problem. Let us not escalate the debate, even if it is impossible to prevent provocations in the conditions of a free press," he said about some confrontational statements that have recently appeared in the Slovak and also the Hungarian press. "I have confidence in the wisdom of both nations." [passage omitted]

Within the framework of the debate on tensions between Czechs and Slovaks, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs mentioned Masaryk's idea that only free and sovereign nations can unite in larger entities. President Goncz cautiously joked: "I would like to mediate between you, but we have plenty of problems of our own."

Solving problems presupposes meeting and getting to know one another. "We have no problems of protocol. It takes only two hours to get [from Budapest] to Bratislava. Give my best regards to [Slovak National Council Chairman] Frantisek Miklosko and tell Premier Meciar that our invitation to him stands," said the amiably informal Hungarian president. He started to talk about his friendly meetings with President Havel and also Premier Meciar, whom he characterized, respectfully, as a politician who energetically defends the interests of his homeland. Although some of Vladimir Meciar's statements have triggered polemics in Hungary, in the political circles they are understood as a tactical tribute in the struggle with Slovak nationalists. Prior to the communal elections, Hungary, too, is having similar experiences with intolerant nationalist demagogy. [passage omitted]

In connection with the approaching communal elections, all Hungarian, Slovak, and Czech participants in the debate agreed that voters in the ethnically mixed areas should give priority to the principle of weltanschauung over the national principle. The top Hungarian political representatives (only the premier was missing) promised "to keep their fingers crossed" that this may eventually be the case. [passage omitted]

Goncz Receives Spanish Foreign Minister

LD0609154690 Budapest MTI in English 1450 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI0—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, met Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, on Thursday [6 September].

Ordonez said that the Council of Europe was to have a Spanish president in the forthcoming months, when Hungary's application for admission would be discussed.

[Budapest MTI in English at 1507 GMT on 6 September reports: "Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez left Budapest after a two-day official visit."]

Economic Cooperation Talks Held With Sweden

LD0609184190 Budapest MTI in English 1757 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian-Swedish inter-governmental joint committee for economic, industrial and technical cooperation held its 19th session in Budapest. At the two-day conference, which ended in Budapest on Thursday, the sides gave positive accounts of the development in bilateral goods turnover. Exports of Hungarian products have doubled over the past four years.

Swedish companies continue to show interest in investment opportunities in Hungary. For instance, the number of joint ventures rose from 15 in 60 in 1989 alone.

The Swedish negotiations delegation informed its Hungarian partners about the possibility of making use of the 1,000 million Swedish krone credit limit which was offered to help promote the East European democratization and economic reform process. The participants also considered whether to avail themselves of the $150 million credit limit granted by the Swedish Government.

The leader of the Hungarian delegation, Janos Martonyi, secretary of state at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, expressed his gratitude for the Swedish Government's continuing support of the Hungarian transformation process.

Rozental Leads Mexican Delegation to Hungary

LD0509152590 Budapest MTI in English 1325 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A Mexican trade representation opened in Budapest on Monday, and deputy foreign minister, Andres Rozental, paid a three-day visit to Budapest for the occasion.

Senor Rozental said in a statement to MTI-ECONEWS that Mexico intends to expand contacts with Hungary in all areas, and would like to see top officials from the two governments meet on a regular basis.

Senor Rozental said that besides boosting cultural, techno-scientific and political contacts, Mexico attaches a great deal of importance to expanding economic ties.

Several bilateral agreements are already under preparation, including one between the airlines of the two countries and another on the avoidance of double taxation.

Mexico feels the two countries could very well cooperate in the petrochemical industry, the pharmaceutical industry, agriculture and tourism.

Mexico is aware that Hungary will have to look for alternative oil markets in the future, and although Mexico cannot export much more oil than it currently does, it intends setting up refineries in Eastern Europe. The refineries would be operated by joint ventures selling Mexican oil in Eastern Europe.

Some time in the near future, Mexican experts will be coming to Eastern Europe to explore the possibilities and prepare feasibilty studies for the refinery projects.

Mexico is a founding member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and hopes the bank will be able to spare funds for such projects.

The pharmaceutical industry, too, is considered to be a promising area for joint activities, all the more so as it will be one of the first industries to come up for privatization in Hungary.

There are good prospects for the two countries cooperating in agriculture and tourism, as well, Senor Rozental said.

The deputy foreign minister said Hungarian companies could participate in transport development projects in Mexican cities.

Mexico would like to sell more vegetables, fruit, children's clothing, shoes, and beverages to Hungary.

Reportage on Jeszenszky Visit to UK

For reportage on the visit by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to the United Kingdom, including reports on his talks with British Foreign Office Minister William Waldgrave, please see the United Kingdom section of the 5 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Mazowiecki Urges Rethinking of Reliance on State

PM0609142190 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Sep 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Richard Swartz; place and date not given: "Mentalities Must Be Changed"]

[Text] Warsaw—"When I arrived home late from work the other night, my son told me that I had had a visitor," Tadeusz Mazowiecki said, drawing deeply on his cigarette and looking, if possible, even more tired than normal.

"The visitor had left a letter with 11 pages of complaints, a list of everything that my government has done wrong. I read the letter and agreed on one or two things. But the letter also revealed something else—people here still expect everything from the state. It is the state which has to change everything, which is responsible for everything that is not as it should be."

This little story is indicative of the present situation in Poland in more than one way: It shows the new government's close-to-the-people political style, but it also demonstrates that the old social reflexes from the past have survived the collapse of real socialism. Mazowiecki said that it is the "mentality" itself which has to be changed; people must rethink—a difficult task that will take time.

"If anyone believed that a year would be enough to make everyone in Poland content, then he believed in miracles. For my own part, I already think that it is a miracle that everything is still functioning the way it is."

Mazowiecki admitted that he has still not succeeded in "involving and activating" the people to the extent necessary for the new politics, but this involvement must come as a "natural process" and not through the government's direct appealing to the citizens. Instead they must learn to use the new political and economic possibilities: He views the low turnout in this spring's local elections more as as a sign that people are unused to all that is new than as a sign that people are tired of everything to do with politics, even though he admits that the difficult economic situation does encourage people to withdraw into their private lives.

"We have no experience in self-government and in how to take part in a political process. In the past such things were impossible here. People now have to find out for themselves what possibilities are available."

But perhaps there is a tiredness among the Poles which has more to do with the economic facts of life than with politics? With a more or less brutal economic plan which up until now improved the selection of goods on sale, but not always people's ability to buy them?

According to Mazowiecki, the economic shock treatment, drawn up by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, had the confidence of the people in its first phase when the main aim was to gain control over inflation. Despite all the difficulties, Poles knew that this was necessary. But now, he admitted, economic policy is in a more difficult phase, and people's impatience is growing.

"But it is not a brutality that is directed against people, but rather a brutal method of giving the economy a meaning which it has not had before in this country. The problem is transferring it from paper and words to action—and all this requires that people begin to rethink."

Mazowiecki was unwilling to talk about his government's disagreements with Lech Walesa, who is calling for a accelerated tempo of reforms and who would like to see himself, equipped with the necessary powers, as president when President Wojciech Jaruzelski vacates his presidential residence, Belweder. Mazowiecki said that there are differences between him and Walesa, but that he "respects" Walesa.

But on several occasions during our conversation, he returned to the theme that natural political disagreements, which are part of political pluralism, should not make opponents into "enemies"; that could be devastating for Poland. Asked whether he could see himself as president, he replied evasively: "The question has been raised too early."

What is left today of Solidarity, the popular movement to which Mazowiecki belonged from the very outset? In addition to Solidarity's continued importance as a trade union organization, Mazowiecki spoke of the "political-moral" inheritance, which continues to play a major role in Poland and which various groups appeal to now that political pluralism is crystallizing into parties.

For Mazowiecki, Solidarity's fragmentation is a natural development: If a party were to arise, which embraced his own political "philosophy," he would have nothing against identifying himself with it. It can hardly be any secret that the reference here is to ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action], the loose grouping which consists chiefly of the Catholic intelligentsia and which has a different political profile from the group around Walesa in Gdansk.

Mazowiecki's government is facing the difficult task of driving through a political program which until now has mostly required sacrifices of Poles, at the same time aiming at defending the seeds of a civil society which is beginning to develop institutions and which could be smashed to pieces if political culture is neglected.

Just like Vaclav Havel's and Marian Calfa's government in Prague, Mazowiecki is opposed to a radical showdown with the old Communist nomenklatura: He described his cooperation with President Jaruzelski and sacked Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak as correct. The two Communists were nevertheless the main architects of the state of martial law in December 1981, which meant that Solidarity was suspended and was in practice banned. Mazowiecki spoke in appreciative terms about his time together with Kiszczak, who behaved "loyally"—the fact that Kiszczak had to leave the government was connected with the fact of the Interior Ministry's transformation into a purely civilian department.

"It is true that personnel changes are necessary, and we intend to pursue them consistently. But there cannot be any revenge. That goes against my philosophy, and I will remain firm in my position as long as I head the government."

Last year's great upheavals in Europe demand a rapprochement between the East and the West—something which Mazowiecki thinks is now proceeding too slowly.

"In order to be able to overcome the division of our continent more quickly, we need 'imagination and courage,' and Poland has to be open in both directions: to the East to replace the 'enforced community' with the Soviet Union with normal cooperation, and to the West to further deepen Polish-German reconciliation. If Poland were instead to be isolated between its neighbors as in the period between the wars, this would not only be a Polish problem but also a European problem, which would contain the risk of opening up conflicts, and chauvinism would dominate the future Europe."

But Mazowiecki said that he is not a fatalist. He believes in an active and independent role for his country.

And what is happening to the Soviet Union? Are we witnessing the beginning of the dissolution of the union, and how would that affect Poland?

Mazowiecki looked thoughtful. He sat in silence for a long time, and then he smiled.

"I am after all no prophet. Would you permit me not to answer that question?"

Bujak, Frasyniuk View Electoral Code, Solidarity

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[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk by Jolanta Zmarlicka and Krzysztof Burnetko in Warsaw on 20 August: "Sensing What Europe Is About"]

[Text] [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] You face another clash in Parliament in September: One that will center on the constitutional amendment that states that the president is to be elected in a general election. The problem is that to have the amendments forced through a two-thirds vote is needed in the Sejm, and the majority is held by the old coalition. So, some kind of tactic will have to be employed if this Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] proposal is to be accepted. What is ROAD going to propose to these deputies?

[Frasyniuk] Only one thing: the vision of a normal democratic state. Only that kind of state will guarantee the right and freedom to operate, and, at a time when some are expressing the opposite view, that there will be no fanning of anger against those who were connected with the authorities for the past 45 years.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] There are, it is said, however, people who want to conclude a contract with deputies from the old coalition: We will agree to an electoral code providing for proportional representation in Parliament, which will give you an opportunity to enter the Sejm a second time, and, in exchange, you will....

[Bujak] No one has come to us with proposals of that sort.

[Frasyniuk] Of course, the present setup lacks stability and is causing the mood of the public to deteriorate further. In addition, a large number of deputies can be bought off in a political sense. On the other hand, when you follow the work of the Sejm, you soon realize that alliances change from week to week. The alliances are not political. They are temporary and were concluded to see specific issues settled. There is a quick and strong closing of ranks when a debate concerns the interests of those deputies directly.

Some of them perceive a chance, however, to remain in the Sejm and rescue their own position in the chaos that is being created in the country and in an unpredictable course of events. It has to be made clear to them that populism and chaos will lead to a situation in which their heads will roll, because when the mob takes to the streets, it will not demand an electoral code, but will want to see heads roll. It will not judge deputies on the basis of what they have achieved in their legislative work, but as deputies of previous Sejms and as having been dependent on the old political groupings.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Then we have a second clash ahead of us: one about the parliamentary electoral code. It would seem that the U.S. model is the one that would benefit Poland most: Two strong parties or coalitions in the Sejm. This is brought about by, among other things, the use of a simple majority electoral code. The problem here is that, first, it is something that is absent from the Polish tradition; second, the adoption of that kind of code would result in 65 percent of the deputies in the present Sejm disappearing from the scene; and third, it would prompt charges of being undemocratic from the smaller parties. What is ROAD's position on this issue?

[Frasyniuk] At a time when Poland is emerging from a crisis, Parliament cannot be allowed to become fragmented into too great a number of groupings—in the way that it did during the period between the wars—and cause the state to become weaker. There has to be some kind of required number of votes that would serve as barrier for obtaining seats in Parliament. Weak groupings that do not obtain that minimum (five percent in the case of the FRG, for example) for entering Parliament, would have to form coalitions.

[Bujak] We want to see the formation of as few groupings as possible in Parliament. When that is so, coalitions are more apparent, and the decisionmaking process is clearer. Only a parliament of that kind stands a chance of becoming a significant force on the political scene. If it were to be fragmented, then the office of president would be of decisive importance for ensuring stability, and that does not always have the best possible effect on the functioning of the state.

[Frasyniuk] The postcommunist deputies know perfectly well that as soon as the Sejm is dissolved, they will be confronted with the harsh reality of their position, and they know that they are only in the Sejm thanks to the "roundtable" contract. It may transpire that the Polish Peasant Party, which is of great importance in today's Parliament, is not that powerful a force at all.

In discussing the electoral code, we should take the simple majority model as our starting point. Then we will no doubt look for a provision that will prevent the Sejm from becoming a market: a place where various types of organizations will be trying to outbid, although it is not known whether they have any kind of power base. In addition, I concluded from our conversation with the primate that the primate also believes that we need a stable political scene. An arrangement based on two political blocs furnishes that stability. At the present time, the Center Accord and the Alliance for Democracy spring to mind in this context.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Was ROAD formed as an alternative or an opposition to the Accord? Could an FRG style electoral code be a point on which the Center Accord and ROAD could unite? On what other areas could you reach agreement?

[Frasyniuk] We formed ROAD to fill the vacuum that was created by the emergence of the Center Accord and the absence of a counterweight on the other side. I do not want to say on which side, because the division into left and right is not clear in Poland.

The formation of ROAD has already scored a tangible success, and Lech Walesa's most recent statements provide proof of that. Lech Walesa is a politician to the core: When one force was coming into being, he associated himself closely with it, but when a counterweight appeared, we once again have that marvelous Lech Walesa, who can play any instrument that is put before him; we once again have that statesman who calls on people not to sling mud at each other and proposes very sensible solutions that are acceptable to all political forces.

As far as differences are concerned, they have not been articulated. Discussion of the future constitution and the future system is just starting up in both the Accord and ROAD. Knowing the Kaczynski brothers, I think that they are people who think in a responsible way about the affairs of Poland. I think that they are likely to be our allies in work on an electoral code. Zbyszek [Zbigniew Bujak] and I have no prejudices against people from the Accord. We have to look for things that unite us.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But what common ground is there?

[Bujak] Perhaps, it would be better to name those issues on which there must be a consensus. There definitely has to be a consensus on the electoral code. It would not be possible to hold elections that are acceptable to society if a significant political force casts doubt on their legal validity. A consensus is necessary to ensure that the outcome of the elections cannot be called into question. There also has to be agreement on the constitution issue. It is impossible to construct a system for the state on the basis of a constitution that is rejected by a serious political force. Judging by Center Accord statements to date, our positions are very similar as far as economic policy is concerned. The Kaczynski brothers do not de facto disagree with Balcerowicz's policy. I do not know to what extent they are ready to modify it, but they accept its general direction: free market principles and the free play of market forces.

Foreign policy is the fourth area of agreement. The prospects for a consensus on foreign policy are also good: So far, there have been no particularly sharp attacks on Minister Skubiszewski.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But do you not detect some demagogic tendencies in the Center Accord line?

[Frasyniuk] I think that it is a tactical move; it is a question of winning support from the electorate. The Kaczynski brothers are, however, serious people, and they realize that the excessive fueling of populist demands will rebound on them. After all, if they were to win the elections, that kind of tide of feeling could not be stemmed even using Lech Walesa authority.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What section of the electorate is ROAD counting on?

[Frasyniuk] On those people who want to participate actively in the change process. This applies to various elites in various communities, including—I want to stress this point—workers communities. ROAD has already scored its first success: It has managed to close the division that emerged between workers and supervisory staff as a result of martial law. This would have been difficult to achieve within the context of a trade union, but ROAD enables these people to meet and discuss the future of their enterprises. We are counting on the middle class.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But how can you entice the middle class into supporting you, if such a class does at all exist in Poland....

[Frasyniuk] We want to attract them with common sense—over the past ten years people have shown that they possess patience and political wisdom. What can we entice them with? We want to show them a modern model of the state. At the moment, we have either very poor people or those who are relatively wealthy. We want to show people that a middle class can be created, that the days of the workers class associated with large industry are over, and the future lies in small enterprises and in focusing on services. We will also campaign for support from the wealthy and middle-income farmer.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The workers class in the large scale industries formed the roots of "Solidarity"....

[Frasyniuk] But "Solidarity" came into being to prevent people from becoming cogs in great industrial monsters, so that workers would have a say in the running of things. What people protested was not the stationing of Soviet troops, but that people made nonsensical decisions affecting them, that they were only being treated as objects who were shuffled from one place to another. Today, we are our own bosses.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But in the public mind, "Solidarity" is the movement that defends us.

[Bujak] You cannot reduce "Solidarity" to the role of a trade union. People did not join "Solidarity" solely in order to gain protection vis-a-vis their employer, but in order to be protected from all kinds of state oppression. They saw it as providing a chance to enter the modern world. "Solidarity" was to lead Poland into joining the rest of the world. This was never stated explicitly, but it was there as an undercurrent. If you ask me how we are going to win you over for ROAD, my answer is that what we are proposing to you is a road leading to Europe.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But what if I do not know what Europe is? How can I, a child of the industrial workers class, be induced into wanting something that I do not know?

[Bujak] You can sense what it is. You have to have a sense, a feeling for what it is, and that you have.

[Frasyniuk] Today, defending the industrial workers class means that you have to ensure that people have work in a profitable enterprise, that they have a strong employer whom they accept. It has to be made possible for them to choose new managers, because how much we earn and how hard we work depend, to a large extent, on how that work is organized. Modern plants have to be small in order to be able to adapt to changing circumstances as quickly as possible. Defending the workers class also means finding jobs for highly qualified specialists, backing ideas in the technology field, and helping those people who want to improve their qualifications or take the risk and launch activities on their own.

I am opposed to interviews of the sort that go: Mr. Prime Minister, what kind of apartment do you have? It has three rooms. That color television set, is it a used one? Yes, it is. What do you drive? A baby Fiat. It is just awful! Polish society has been demoralized by poverty, and we have to find gutsy people who say: Yes, I actually do live in this beautiful house, and I would like everyone to live in a house like this; I drive a fine automobile, and I would like all of us to drive one. We have to show people that there are prospects, instead of saying that we will all suffer hardship.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] On the other hand, people are afraid of unemployment, and what they have ingrained in their subconscious is the belief that if they work in a larger enterprise, they can just go on strike and the government will come to them.

[Frasyniuk] According to leaders—people who are credible in the eyes of the public—there has been a change in these stereotypes. The changes in politics and in the economy have gone much further than public awareness. People are afraid of privatization, because the debate about it went on too long. People working in the retail sector do not have a clue about the retail trade. They do not know who will ensure that they receive supplies of goods. They now have to assume responsibility for the economic results that their work produces. These people have to be helped. This help should not not only assume the form of cheap loans, but should also include advice from experts. If people still do not know how to set up a company, they have to be provided with an expert whose advice they can seek. The extent to which people are ignorant of the law is alarming.

Once the restructuring process is over and private enterprise appear, trade unions will be faced with the dilemma of how they should defend their workers. If a trade union is operating in an enterprise that employs 20,000 people, then we know that if there is dispute with the employer and the employees put their foot down, the employer goes under. If a union has 50 members in a enterprise with a work force of 200, however, it has a different kind of strength.

The mentality from the days of that colorful "Solidarity" that slams factory gates, hangs up pictures of the Virgin Mary and the pope, and calls a strike, has to be transformed into thinking in terms of negotiations and responsibility for the plant. It has to be possible to show the employer that there is money being lost in this area or in that, because of poor organization, money that should end up in our pockets. That requires a great deal of effort. Naturally, everybody looks for short cuts. We have one foot in the door of an independent Poland, and suddenly that great proletariat starts reconstituting itself. You hear people say that the working class is the healthy part of the Polish nation once again. People still think in the categories that were drilled into them over the past 45 years. We want to show them that there are other possibilities, to show every person who is good at his job that he can become self-employed. On the other hand, a significant part of society is not in a position to operate under free market conditions, and our organization must also provide a social safety net for those who cannot cope for a variety of reasons: a lack of skills, not being adaptable enough, an insufficient number of job vacancies, and so on. All important political groupings should work out a compromise on this issue.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The roots of both of you lie in "Solidarity." Are you not sorry that "Solidarity" is becoming less important? Has the trade union formula not lost its relevance generally? Was "Solidarity" not an idea that was applicable solely to 1980?

[Bujak] There is a simple answer to that. You can adopt two philosophies. The first philosophy is that it is our job to defend the workers class, and if a plant goes bankrupt, we will not allow that to happen. The plant has to continue to exist. If management says that there has to be a reorganization of the plant and that that will entail laying off 30 percent of the work force, then we will not agree to that, because everyone has to have a job. That is the classic attitude, and it would be very dangerous now, because it would check the reform process, and there would be a danger that we would slip even further into economic collapse and poverty. A modern trade union cannot say that it does not agree to bankruptcy if that bankruptcy is about to occur, or that it does not agree to a restructuring of the plant if that is essential. The modern union should help find new jobs, help people to retrain, and so on. It should, for example, be able to predict what occupations will be in demand in the labor market, because we already know that it will not be possible to maintain as large a working class as [there is] at present.

A union should realize that there are not enough jobs for everyone and that people must start thinking about where else they could work—and it would be best if they were to start thinking about becoming self-employed in the services sector or in small companies. If the union will be able to adapt its structures and operations to these tasks, then it will win, it will last out the reform, and will remain an important organization in the future. If it will want to adopt the classic, simplistic attitude, it might even score a few short-lived successes, and its leaders will become vociferous leaders of the mob, but sooner or later it will be the loser. What is worse is that the people will also be the losers.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] So it will not be a union that makes demands, but one that participates....

[Bujak] Yes, although, of course, it cannot abandon its demand role completely. If we have a workplace that is operating normally and we realize that the employer can afford to double the wages that he pays and still earn a lot, then, of course, that is what we have to demand.

[Frasyniuk] It is a question of the union feeling that it shares responsibility for what happens in the factory. Moreover, the union must be represented at the local level, because that is where decisions affecting employees will also be made. Privatization is the first example.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] So where does the state's welfare role end?

[Frasyniuk] The state should intervene in the economy as little as possible. At the present time, however, we are in an special situation, because we are just entering a free market economy. Take a group of college graduates—how do we create jobs for them? There is the problem of older, unemployed people. It is not benefits that matter most, but assistance in acquiring the skills that will enable people to find a job. The government should point to this or that industry as the engine that will drive the economy. It must assist the activities of firms that provide vocational training, social organizations, charities, and foundations, and so on.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Let us get back to the big political issues. What do you find acceptable about the Center Accord's activities?

[Frasyniuk] Although the leaders of the Accord have clearly distanced themselves from cheap populism, there is, nevertheless, a whole host of activists which does employ it. All this blackmail talk that the absence of solutions is going to spark disturbances in the streets is dangerous. As in 1981, the idea of "true Poles" has surfaced once again. There is beginning to be talk of "true workers." The greatest achievement of "Solidarity" was to close the divide between the intelligentsia and the workers—thanks to that, widely different communities managed to find a common language, and "Solidarity" could become the motivating force and causal agent behind all the changes. Now, attempts are being made to revive the old divisions for the sake of narrow group interests.

[Bujak] If you come up with a slogan such as acceleration in, for example, politics, but you do not spell out what that means, and you do not talk about the effect in precise terms, I do not like it. If you start yelling let us fight the nomenklatura without saying anything about methods, the implication is that this a matter that does not necessarily have to be settled by legal means, by, for example, getting in to office and throwing people out. That is the implication if you do not tell the farmers that thanks to the law on cooperatives they had a chance to defeat the nomenklatura, but they wasted it. If you do not tell the farmers that they could have thrown out the old apparatus by holding elections and about how those elections work, then you are suggesting they should turn up at the offices with their scythes.

[Frasyniuk] The worst thing about this kind of populist talk is that it creates the impression that the citizen can have his needs seen to by "our" man with strong powers. That is not true. For 40 years those who were wisest were those who acted for society, on behalf of society. Now people are being deceived into thinking that some other wise man will change this or that president and will arrange an attractive contract with a Western partner, and so on. This slows down the democratization process. Factory commissions, self-management bodies should be looking for partners for cooperation, for other commodities that the enterprise could go over to producing. If you tell people that someone can do it on their behalf, you are just hoodwinking them.

[Bujak] They talk about accelerating things in the economy, about speeding up privatization, restructuring.... I am in favor of that, because speeding up privatization and restructuring will cause capital to flow from inefficient to efficient sectors. It also means, however, that bankruptcies will occur more quickly and that there will be more unemployment. When Jarek [Jaroslaw] Kaczynski talked about speeding things up in the economy at the Ursus plant, he did not mention the fact that it might mean layoffs at Ursus. That is what I call a populist position.

[Frasyniuk] I think that Poland's problem is that recently there has been no substantive discussion on any of these subjects. People are all trying to outdo each other with slogans rather than concrete programs. We are also in favor of an acceleration. This can only be achieved, however, by getting increasingly wider circles of people to assume responsibility for decisions and becoming involved in reform processes in the enterprise and the township.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What you have been saying indicates that in terms of their programs, there are no particularly substantial differences between ROAD and the Center Accord, and that the main difference between them concerns the way in which problems are to be solved, the way in which one should act.

[Bujak] If we are effecting a transition from totalitarianism to democracy, then the way in which that transition is effected is a key issue.

[Frasyniuk] What we are concerned about are certain principles, about a democratic state that citizens will finally respect. For 200 years society did not identify itself with the structures of the state. This has to finally change. We have learned to live in permanent opposition. Flouting the law is still in our blood. We have to get used to respecting and upholding the law. The same applies to state institutions. People do not treat the government, Parliament, self-government bodies as their own. They come to "Solidarity" with every matter.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Will support for the Mazowiecki government not backfire on ROAD when all the effects of going over a free a market economy become apparent?

[Frasyniuk] I am not worried. The philosophy of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government follows from the "Solidarity" philosophy, which states the citizen is to be the motive force behind everything.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But what if the citizen does not want to be that?

[Frasyniuk] If he does not want that, and wants a dictatorship—that is just too bad. He has to be told, however, that there has never been a dictatorship in which the citizen has had his needs satisfied and in which the economy was dynamic. If we want to be wealthy, then we must have a democratic state, and you construct a democratic society by democratic means.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Would it not be more advantageous for ROAD, as a political party, to have the elections brought forward, so that they take place before people feel the effects of the free market?

[Frasyniuk] Yes, theoretically, but the other side of the coin is the national interest. Having elections this year would entail a enormous danger—there are about 50 laws waiting to be passed by Parliament, including such important ones as the law on self-government and the budget. It may turn out that a great many of our state institutions will be functioning as if they were in a vacuum. That is dangerous, because it makes the use of non-legislative methods attractive. If a political battle flares up, however, the elections may become necessary. This would give rise to a further problem, because it is, of course, possible to sound off about the undemocratic nature of the Sejm. Yet, if you ask a representative sample of society if this really is the right time to hold elections, then the majority will say that they do not care one bit, and that they will not go to vote. So, all these calls are demagogy.

On the other hand, presidential elections should be brought forward. The ideal solution would be to hold them once a new constitution setting out the powers of the head of states, and the way in which he is to be elected, has been discussed and adopted. That, however, is impossible, because the political situation is different. Politicians cannot proceed according to an ideal arrangement, but have to react to the situation as it actually is at present. A president chosen by means of a general election will be in a strong position. He will have a stabilizing effect on the situation in our country. Elections are needed so that the government and Parliament can work in peace.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] How can a strong president be reconciled with the concept of a strong government being advanced by ROAD?

[Bujak] A government is strong when it has the support of the majority in a strong and stable Parliament. That protects it from collapsing and ensures continuity in the pursuit of its policies. We just have to start building that kind of Parliament in Poland, however, and that will take several years. During this period there have to be stabilizing factors of some kind —for example, a president who could use his authority to react during crises. On the other hand, President Jaruzelski has extensive powers, but the question is can he use them? Can he be an arbiter in various conflicts? The answer is no, because of his past and the way in which he was elected, although he did perform a certain role by reducing the intensity of the conflict between the old power apparatus, which was on its way out, and the "new" one, which was appearing on the scene.

[Frasyniuk] The president should not have powers that overlap with those of the executive government, because that would lead to chaos and vying between the two. I support a model that would, nevertheless, make the government the strongest in times of crisis. There is, for example, the Austrian solution, under which the president, who is chosen by means of a general election, has very few powers. The president will be strong by virtue of his personality, the authority of his office, and the fact that the nation chose him by democratic means. He should be a guarantor of stable foreign policy, and an arbiter in disputes between the government and Parliament.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] There is no mention of changing the president's powers in the constitutional amendment that was proposed by ROAD deputies. Will ROAD seek to introduce other stabilizing institutions into the Constitution, such as a constructive no confidence veto, which would tie demanding a change of government to the submission of an alternative candidate?

[Bujak] We are thinking of significantly increasing the power of the "third" element of government—the judiciary. In every modern state, its role is growing as a forum for resolving an ever increasing number of disputes. This is linked to greater economic activity, a greater role for self-government, and the development of unions and associations, such as, for example, ecological ones. This makes it very important to reform the Supreme Court and to restore the authority of the courts, which was destroyed over the past 45 years. They should become the most important stabilizing institution.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] So, what role would Lech Walesa have? You surely realize that leaving a personality of his stature on the sidelines is not a good solution....

[Bujak] Lech Walesa did not enter Parliament or become president or prime minister of his own volition. He must realize that there is no place on the Polish political scene where one can play an important role and influence decisions without assuming any responsibility. I see his most natural place as being in Parliament as the leader of the political grouping that, I understand, the Center Accord will become.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Has ROAD already worked out its election strategy? Do you intend to campaign completely independently or will you do so together with other groupings as a bloc—the Alliance for Democracy. There has been a certain note of skepticism in some of the recent statements made by activists of the Forum of the Democratic Right.

[Bujak] We are skeptical for the time being, because we are still at the stage of organizing ourselves. In addition, the legislation on political parties has still to come into force. I think that we should enter the elections as an independent grouping, because the key thing now is to determine whether there is a a constituency for individual political formations, whether there is any support at all for their programs. A coalition should only be formed in Parliament by our teams of deputies.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What prospects are there for the kind of two party setup in the Sejm that we mentioned earlier?

[Bujak] The prospects are quite good. At the present time there are two important formations: ROAD and the Center Accord. We intend to create parliamentary coalitions, however, on various issues with different forces. At the moment, there is no indication that other groupings would be able to acquire an influential voice. The farmers have a such chance, but only if they unite and work out a common program.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Would you agree that one of the fundamental ideas of the old democratic opposition, that of a civil society, has been lost sight of because the focus of Polish political life has centered on discussion about political parties?

[Bujak] Definitely not, although one of the institutions that articulated that idea—the citizens committees—is disappearing from the national political scene. When political competition begins, it will be waged by parties. That is normal. The committees can, at most, become a forum for discussing local issues, concluding local alliances, and aiding local councils. However, there too, at the local level, the normal elements of civil society should be self-government bodies, social organizations, and associations, with the committees being only one of those elements. There is total freedom in this sphere now.

ROAD Views Presidential Elections, Constitution

AU0709080590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Sep 90 pp 1,2

[Tomasz Rogulski report: "Presidential Elections at the Earliest"]

[Text] ROAD's Founding Council called for early presidential elections at its meeting on 1 September in Warsaw. They called on Sejm deputies to approve a proposal to amend the Constitution put forward by ROAD back in July. Democratic Action-ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action] anticipates that as soon as general presidential elections become a possibility, General Wojciech Jaruzelski will step down.

Some 82 members of the council, out of 112, attended the meeting. Among those absent were Adam Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. The council decided to form a Coordinating Commission which will coordinate organizational aspects and prepare for ROAD's congress. The following were elected to the new commission:

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Zbigniew Bujak, Adam Michnik, Henryk Wujec, Jan Litynski, Jan Rokita, and Barbara and Aleksander Labuda.

ROAD's political calendar lists the constitutional amendment as a priority, and presidential elections would then take place according to the new Constitution. If the Sejm works quickly, elections are still possible this year, for example, at the beginning of December. ROAD has not named its presidential candidate.

"I am trying to convince Tadeusz Mazowiecki that he should run as a candidate, and I am optimistic," said Zbigniew Bujak during the news conference after the meeting.

There are other potential presidential candidates, for example, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Andrzej Stelmachowski, and Bronislaw Geremek. It is possible that ROAD will conclude an electoral pact with the group currently organized by Ryszard Bugaj and the Forum of the Democratic Right. These movements would then field a single presidential candidate.

"Lech Walesa is a great speaker, and if he were to head the work of the parliamentary center he would become one of our greatest parliamentary leaders and speakers," stated Bujak in answer to a question asking him to suggest the most appropriate role for the "Solidarity" head.

The differences between ROAD and the Center Accord are quite clear and important. Center Accord wants to see a strong president, and it has proposed parliamentary elections based on proportional voting. According to Bujak, many insignificant parties would find themselves in Parliament because of this system, and this would mean that the Sejm's legislative work would be slowed down by lengthy debates. According to him, Center Accord prefers a strong central government and a weak local government.

Economic acceleration at a time when we do not have a reasonable welfare policy or finance is a dangerous program, stated Bujak. It would lead to increased unemployment and bankruptcies. Bringing forward Sejm elections will delay legislation on the economy and local authorities, said Henryk Michalak. Bujak stated that he does not foresee a danger of social explosion.

ROAD's Founding Council is against the draft law abolishing garden allotments and expressed its approval for the draft on national minorities. The teaching of religion in schools was also debated, but no conclusions were reached. The council criticized the way the issue was dealt with, but it was satisfied with the way religion would be taught in schools.

At present ROAD has some 5,000 fee-paying members. Some 2,000 are in Warsaw, 400 in Lodz, 385 in Krakow, and 320 in Wroclaw. Poznan, Szczecin, Lublin, and Konin each have over 100. Some 45 ROAD voivodship representatives have already been appointed, but Leszno, Kielce, Rzeszow, and Biala-Podlaska still have none. There are no ROAD members in Kielce and Rzeszow at all.

Walesa: Solidarity Logo Only for Trade Union

LD0609205790 Warsaw PAP in English 1947 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 6—Solidarity union leader's press bureau conveyed to PAP a statement by Lech Walesa concerning the Solidarity logo. The statement reads:

Solidarity is a sign of victory. We were fighting 10 years under this sign. That struggle began in the Gdansk shipyard. The Solidarity logo which was born during that time kept us united. We have overcome the totalitarian system. An era of building democracy has began. Combat under one sign nears its end. Although we all come from there, the right to use this sign is only for the Solidarity trade union.

"The era of work has different rules. Everyone must go to work awaiting him in his own garments, under his own sign, with the awareness of his own identity, with his own programme and readiness to bear his own responsibility for that programme.

"I once again appeal to all: Let us not abuse the Solidarity banner," concludes Walesa's statement.

Walesa Meets Gdansk Mayor, City Council

LD0509211690 Warsaw PAP in English 1721 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sep. 5—Lech Walesa met with the Mayor of Gdansk Jacek Starosciak and the City Council here today. Fathers of Gdansk described difficulties they come accross in trying to dynamize the town functions. They concluded that decrees were necessary in many cases to prevent preying on legal inconsistencies in a way detrimental to society.

Representatives of the town authorities and the Solidarity leader described as obvious further cooperation between Solidarity, mayor and the council of the town where Solidarity had been born.

Falling Credit Rating of Firms Reported

AU0509182190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Sep 90 p 2

["P.A."-signed report: "No Credit Rating"]

[Text] Information we have been able to obtain from banks indicates that, as of 31 July 1990, the number of enterprises that no longer had a so-called credit rating had increased to 664—namely, by an additional 59 firms compared with the previous month. This figure is now double what it was at the end of March 1990. Out of this number, some 275 firms are in the industrial sector, 207 in the trading sector, and 85 are in the agricultural sector.

In July, 137 firms lost their credit rating. These were mainly firms from the clothing, electro-machine, and food branches. In the same period, 69 firms regained their credit rating, and nine managed to repay their total indebtedness to the banks. From the firms who regained their rating, 30 were from the trading, and 21 were from the industrial sector.

According to the banks, the most common causes for the loss of credit rating are the continuing fall in production and sales, the postponement of payment of fiscal liabilities due to the state, and the assumption of some turnover liabilities by firms and individuals.

According to banking sources, 11 enterprises were placed under receivership in July 1990, but apart from some trading firms in the Legnica area, most of these were rather small.

Postponed repayments that have already fallen due rose by 80 billion zlotys [Z], to Z747 billion, which is now some two percent of total credit advanced. The Lodz General Trading Bank, which finances firms like, for example, Polmerino, Poltex (in liquidation), and Konstilana, is particularly exposed.

Stelmachowski on Unconstructive Agriculture Policy

LD0509223190 Warsaw PAP in English 2057 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—Polish Senate Speaker Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski granted an interview for the WOKANDA weekly in which he elaborated, among other things, on the situation in Polish agriculture. excerpts:

"We deal there with a very complex and very diversified situation. Certainly it is not a good thing that a clear rural policy has not been formulated so far. Probably it is the most serious fault of the government.

"But it should also be stated that none of other political fores has presented a convincing agrarian programme. I have read two, or three (of them) but they contain more slogans than concrete things. Therefore, an enormous conceptual work is still ahead of us.

"So far one thing has been done, to the credit of the government, namely an agreement with protesting farmers was reached and the government assured undisturbed procurement of grain.

"Slowly the government is departing from the self-imposed dogma, that is, not to intervene into agriculture. it seems that when a chain of monopolies still operates in the sector, such an intervention is absolutely necessary.

"The first conflict between farmers and the government ended in compromise. But the problem has not been finally settled. I think a rural programme should be worked out and hope that it will take place.

"It is an abnormal thing that the post of agriculture minister is vacant. This results from a political stalemate.

"I must say that the situation existing in the political representation of the countryside especially, in its parliamentary lobby, is very bad. On the one hand, we deal with distinct populist tendencies represented by members of the old apparatus, mainly the former United Peasant Party, and nothing to be termed fully constructive has been formulated here.

"The private farmers' solidarity played an extremely positive role in reaching the compromise with the government, but there are still groupings eager to stir moods and pour oil on the flames.

"At present we have harvest, farmers are mainly preoccupied with it, but in autumn all these problems are bound to return," Professor Stelmachowski opined.

Senate Views Agriculture, Warsaw Police

LD0609220890 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—An agricultural debate opened today a two-day session of the Polish Senate who held their first meeting after the summer recess.

The chamber intended to discuss the government farming programme, but the lack of such a programme made the discussion focus on threats to the agriculture, which is now turning from the command to the market-oriented one, and to possible solutions of production, economic and social problems of the residents of rural regions. There were proposals to postpone the farming debate till the programme is ready, but the chamber finally voted for the continuation of the debate.

The adviser to the agriculture minister presented the main elements of the agricultural strategy contained in a report prepared by the World Bank and EC experts. The document stresses that the success of the development of the whole economy in Poland depends on the properly assessed role of farming and its specific character.

The senators attached main attention to privatisation problems and the necessary transformations within the agriculture. They stressed that family farms should be the basis of the Polish farming system. They also suggested that the Parliament should pass a special privatisation bill concerning the state farms [word indistinct].

Following the discussion, the Senate will prepare a resolution on agriculture to be voted on tomorrow.

During its afternoon session, the Senate reviewed a motion of the committee for human rights and law-abidingness on submitting to the Sejm a draft law on police in Warsaw voivodship.

The bill suggested by the Senate committee is an experiment which if successful will be introduced throughout the country, Senator Lech Koziol said.

Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Jan Widacki said that the bill on Warsaw police would impede the work of police all over Poland while not making the work easier for its Warsaw sections. Head of Police Leszek Lamparski was of similar opinion.

Minister of Internal Affairs Krzysztof Kozlowski shared the opinion that Warsaw is a specific city marked by a higher crime rate than any other region, thus needed is special protection on the part of police but all this can be done by virtue of the binding law.

The draft was voted down.

About 7 P.M. the Senate ended its debate today. Tomorrow, the debate will start at 9 A.M.

Senate Committee Discusses Eastern Policy

LD0509212190 Warsaw PAP in English 1727 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—Poland's active policy in the East and mainly towards the Soviet Union may become a factor preventing Poland from excessive dependence on the West, said members of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee at their meeting devoted to Poland's eastern policy here today.

Developments in the east of Europe call for a new definition of the principles of Poland's foreign policy. Poland in her policy towards her eastern neighbour or neighbours should seek ways to overcome historical prejudices and maintain maximum caution and moderation in face of events taking place there. From the point of view of Poland's interests, the best variant of the development of the situation there would be an evolutionary transformation of structures in the direction of a confederation. Then Poland could play a role of a bridge between the West and parts of the confederation, the senators said.

Participants in the meeting stressed that economic relations would have a significant impact of defining the principles of Poland's foreign policy towards her eastern partner. Senate will discuss the issues at its plenary meeting later this week.

Katyn Files To Be Opened to Polish Authorities

LD0609183290 Warsaw PAP in English 1735 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Wroclaw, Sept. 6—"The Main Committee of the Memory of Stalinist Victims in Poland, an association leading to the compensation of wrongs done by the Stalinist system to Polish people in Poland and in the Soviet Union, receives with recognition the promise to open to Polish authorities KGB files concerning the Katyn crime," reads a statement of the Wroclaw-based Main Committee of the Memory of Stalinist Victims in Poland conveyed to PAP today.

"This is a decision awaited for over 50 years by Polish people. It allows hope that also other archives, containing evidence of Polish martyrdom in the Soviet Union, will be made available in the near future. We also expect Soviet offices and institutions to be more helpful to Polish organizations and institutions working on determining the wrongs done to Polish people by the Soviet state and to recognize their right to moral and material compensation."

Delegation Back From Soviet Human Rights Meeting

LD0609034390 Warsaw PAP in English 2147 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—Members of the Polish delegation to a conference on human rights organized in Leningrad by the Solidarity trade union and the Lithuanian Sajudis returned to Warsaw today.

Upon his arrival Chairman of the Senate Committee for Human Rights and Law-Abidingness, Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski who had headed the delegation told PAP in part:

"Besides Poles and Lithuanians, Leningrad residents from the Democratic Union took an active part in the organization of the conference as well.

"The Soviet opposition from the whole country virtually arrived at our session, 1,200 people on the whole.

"The very fact that the conference was held, that all barriers hindring it were conquered should be considered a good lesson we were given.

"The conference was dominated by the Soviet problematique. When you listened to participants in the forum, the picture of the Soviet Union was far from the sunny image of perestroyka. There are still political prisoners, the repressive psychiatry continues to operate, in result of bad organization of the Army, soldiers are killed in peace time.

"As an outcome of the conference a special commission was set up to deal with problems of children," Zbigniew Romaszewski said.

Onyszkiewicz Meets Leaders of London Poles

LD0609210290 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] London, Sept. 6—Head of the foreign commission of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group OKP and Polish National Defence Vice-Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz met today with members of the Polish authorities in exile: President Ryszard Kaczorowski, National Defence Minister Colonel Jerzy Morawicz and with former president Edward Raczynski and General Klemens Rudnicki.

They discussed the situation in Poland and this of the local Polonian circles [as received], and the future of the Polish Government in exile. Vice Minister Onyszkiewicz also described the current transformations in the Polish Army, its shape and functioning, did not concern the Poles in the homeland alone, but the whole nation, also emigrants.

During his visit to London, which ended today, Onyszkiewicz held talks with officials of the British Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence.

Towns Group Critical of Soviet Military Presence

LD0609222890 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—Mayor of Legnica Tadeusz Pokrywka sent to PAP a communique on a meeting of representatives of 19 towns and communities where Soviet troops are stationed. Participants in the meeting set up an association of these towns and chose Legnica for the organization's seat.

The delegates voiced an opinion that it was necessary to admit representatives of the association to negotiations which are held with a view to defining the statute [as received] of Soviet troops in Poland and the date of their withdrawal. They deemed it necessary to quickly restructure the institution of the government's plenipotentiary for the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. They found it urgent to specify the rules of evacuation of Soviet troops from Poland and to authorize Polish inspectors of fire brigades, environmental protection and sanitary services to hold controls on the areas where Soviet troops are stationed.

Participants in the meeting found it necessary to have new legal regulations concerning temporary deployment of Soviet troops in Poland passed and efficient methods of executing mutual agreements worked out. They also stressed the arrogance of the Soviet side manifested in the general disregard for obligations signed so far, the communique reads.

* Iliescu: Communist Ties 'Radically Broken'

90BA0285A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 10, 11 Aug 90

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Aristide Buhoiu; place and date not given]

[10 Aug p 3]

[Text] [Buhoiu] Mr. President, in view of the fact that you were declared "president of all the Romanians," we would appreciate it very much if you would answer several questions frequently asked from the perspective of emigres and political refugees living abroad. Will you be so kind as to clarify something that has become an obsession with us? Namely, what is your stand on the communist doctrine? Do you still believe—if you ever did—in a humanist communist doctrine? Or are you convinced, like the rest of us, that the communist era is on the wane?

[Iliescu] I could in my turn ask you: Why does this question obsess you? I do not think that there is any symptom in present-day Romania to justify such a concern.

Since you inquired, however, I will repeat what I have said to other interviewers since the December Revolution. We have radically broken—not only de jure, but also de facto—with the totalitarian practices and with the communist ideology. I may say that in itself the experience of our social development in the past few decades imposed and led us to this attitude toward the former system. These are easily verifiable facts. All the ideologies that generated totalitarian practices on the basis of abstract, artificially constructed models of hypothetical human happiness in the absence of democracy and individual freedom, were and are doomed to fail. I do not think that it is possible to restore communism anymore, either as a 'humanist-type communism' as you called it, or a 'communism with a human face,' as the description goes. As far as I am concerned, the disassociation is final and it began for me in 1971 when—because of experiences that are known and the open conflict with the totalitarian regime—I also realized the failure of communism as an ideology. Thus, if there is an 'obsession' like you said, it has no basis in reality. I never pursued and cannot pursue, as some 'well-wishers' accuse me, the creation of any kind of 'neocommunism' in Romania.

What we really want—I am speaking about the authorities legitimized by the 20 May elections—is to pull the country out of the profound crisis in which it is and to firmly guide it along the path of progress and democracy. If one can talk of an ideology in this respect, then our ideology is one of 'political realism.' In other words, we proceed not from abstract, ready-made, or bankrupt models, but from the complex realities and problems of our country and in close connection with the trends of contemporary development, which we endeavor to take into account and to capitalize upon. This seems to me the only effective and valid ideology at the present. This is the only way I see to achieve what we want: a normal and democratic development of the country and real economic progress rather than propaganda, based on the contemporary technological revolution which is, everywhere in the world, the salient and distinctive feature of all modern social development. Along this line I want to note that we are particularly interested in combining economic progress with an extensive social program aimed at protecting the interests of the broadest strata of the population. This means that we are simultaneously pursuing two very important issues, the real and fundamental conceptual and strategic elements of contemporary development: on the one hand, the creation of efficient levers of economic development specific of a market economy, which can ensure dynamism and a healthy basis for the national economy; and on the other hand, the social protection necessary to the citizens. Naturally, these objectives are more important than the ideology of any party; they constitute strategic elements of a national importance. Consequently, as 'president of all the Romanians,' I believe that they can stimulate and intensify the creativities of the people in all their aspects, and ensure cooperation and the necessary balance in our entire social life.

[Buhoiu] What was your first thought on the day you settled down in this office in the Cotroceni Palace?

[Iliescu] I am not sure. I do not think that on the day I took over this office in the Cotroceni Palace my thoughts differed much from the ones that preoccupied me throughout this difficult and stirring period since December. What I did hope and still wish very much, however, is that my thoughts and plans should be better understood and that, through a genuine dialogue with all the members of the society, we can identify the best present and future solutions for achieving the country's objectives and for becoming fully integrated in the contemporary world.

[Buhoiu] As you know only too well, as a journalist I had many occasions to come into contact with you, both in your capacity as minister for youth problems, and then as secretary of Timisoara and Iasi. In 1983, when I was fired from television, we ran into each other in the Rosetti Square. On that occasion you bitterly stated that "the Ceausescu clan is responsible for a lot, but not only they." Were you not afraid that such statements could reach Ceausescu's ears?

[Iliescu] While in a way I was—like you and the majority of other Romanians—a prisoner of the totalitarian government, I tried, as best I could, never to be a prisoner at an intimate, affective, moral, and political level, too. Thus, beginning with the 'disassociation' I mentioned before, which occurred already in 1971, I always expressed my convictions and options. No, I was not afraid that such statements may reach Ceausescu's ears. After all, why should I have been afraid? My position became known in 1971 when I was accused, among other things, of steering the youth along an 'intellectualist' path.

Today, after the great model of heroism they exhibited in December, I am certain that the young people will fully contribute, together with the other social and age groups, to the real economic progress of the country and to its dignified access to the next century and millenium.

[Buhoiu] Much has been written abroad about the fact that you allegedly have a possible protector in the person of Gorbachev, who reportedly was a colleague of yours in your student days. In a talk I had with Nestor Rates on Radio Free Europe I expressed some doubts, saying that that may have been the work of the Securitate disinformation services. What is the truth?

[Iliescu] I first met Gorbachev last June at the last summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact. All the rest were groundless inventions. I had already heard the rumors about our student days together at the time when I was under careful observation (need I say by whom?). I cannot tell who spread them and why.

[Buhoiu] I have learned from reliable sources that in the famous transcript of the 17 December 1989 meeting of the Political Executive Committee there was a sentence that never appeared in the press, in which Ceausescu allegedly said, "Then stay with your Iliescu since you all want him." Why was that sentenced censored out?

[Iliescu] I know, too, that 'reliable sources' are often cited by the mass media in support of certain items and reports. In this case, however, they, too, seem to have little to do with reality. I never heard of such a statement that was allegedly censored.

[Buhoiu] I want to tell you that in a telephone conversation with Gheorghe Apostol, who at the time was ambassador to Brazil, he told me that at the right time, the one person who could take over power once Ceausescu was removed, was Ion Iliescu! In agreement with editor Horia Puscasu of the Voice of America we deleted that reference from our radio talk. Do you think that you would have been at risk if we had left it in?

[Iliescu] In any event, I want to thank you for your concern. I do not know anything about the talk you mentioned. It is difficult to tell now whether it would have put me in jeopardy or not.

[Buhoiu] There are still many shadows hanging over the Romanian Revolution. We believe that the time has come for some clarifications. For example: Is it true that the terrorists who "evaporated into thin air" after the Revolution actually left the country? What happened with the so-called terrorists we saw handcuffed to hospital beds but who have not yet been brought to court?

[Iliescu] The matter of the terrorists indeed continues to remain a mystery. Not, I am sure, because of bad intentions or other reasons but because we do not yet have the information we need to clarify it. I, too, would like to know, for example, who fired in the first days of the Revolution while we were in the television building. There is no doubt that shots were fired toward and into the office in which I was on the 11th floor. The marks of the bullets that put holes in the metal windowsill are still there. Consequently, the existence of the terrorists or of the persons who came to be known as terrorists was not an invention. As a rule they are identified with Securitate men. There were probably some Securitate members, but there were others, too. Alone this hypothetical formulation shows that we still cannot tell who they were. In any case, both the television building and the National Defense Ministry, where I spent five days, were under constant fire from neighboring buildings. Not to mention other areas. Some even stole inside those buildings and caused great difficulties. Who were they and to whom did they belong? There are also some unclear questions concerning some people who were caught and then set free. How? The Prosecutor's Office was not yet working at that time. The police were in disarray, and the Army was not trained for such situations; as far as one can tell from a superficial analysis, those who seized them believed it could not be proven that they were terrorists, so they let them go. Were they accomplices or did they really not have convincing proof? Who can give a valid answer today?

Some people have been arrested under such accusations, some have even stood trial, while others are being investigated. The Prosecutor's Office has more than 1,200 files on the docket concerning the December events. However, not too much is known about the elite snipers who made up the hard core of the actions in Bucharest. This is another enigma that we will have to clarify. In these conditions, what can I tell you about the assertion that the terrorists have allegedly left the country? I would be happy if you or anyone else could bring some proof of that.

Unfortunately, many of those who raise these questions—still unresolved, it's true—do not understand or do not want to understand the situation in which we were in those days and continue to advance speculations for the purpose of discrediting the current political leadership. People who had nothing to do with the dramatic events of those days and who took no risks, suddenly came up and even arrogated prosecution roles to themselves, not only asking questions, but even contesting the loyalty and honest intentions of those who were at the heart of the fighting and put their own lives on the line. Why, I ask you, should we be interested in keeping certain things shrouded in secrecy? In the final analysis, the ones most interested in finding out the whole truth are the ones who were directly involved in those events. There have been far simpler situations, like political assassinations—like Olof Palme's, for example—which have not been cleared up even years later. I think, however, that you were referring to the undoubtedly legitimate desire to clarify certain unclear situations, which we share to the same extent.

[Buhoiu] We heard that during those days, a highly placed person ordered the television station to broadcast an item according to which the Soviets were willing to intervene militarily in Romania, upon request. Was such an appeal made to Moscow?

[Iliescu] As I said on other occasions, too, we did not make any such request; in its turn, the Soviet leadership officially stated its principled opposition to any military intervention. At one point, when the situation appeared to be very difficult, some consideration was given to a possible request for logistic support. We had a French offer along that line. However, we estimated that we had the necessary means to deal with the situation ourselves.

[Buhoiu] When the Revolution began, did you know that you would come to steer the events?

[Iliescu] Not only did I not know that, but I was not even thinking about it. As soon as I came to the television station, everyone around asked me to speak, to address the country, and to take the initiative and organize a new government. Later I learned that on 20 December the demonstrators in Timisoara were also chanting my name.

[Buhoiu] With what heads of state would you like to compare yourself in say, two years time?

[Iliescu] I do not like to compare myself to anyone.

[Buhoiu] It has been unanimously agreed that the opposition was not sufficiently well crystalized for the electoral campaign and that many personalities stayed out of politics. How do we explain, however, the fact that in the days immediately after the Revolution no one thought of inviting back to the country the eminent dissident Mihai Botez, a well-known anti-Ceausescu and anticommunist fighter and a first rate personality of the resistance?

[Iliescu] Throughout the electoral campaign and after it I constantly asserted the importance of social criticism—and thus of a strong and articulate opposition—during the phase of transition to democracy that we are traveling and generally, in any democratic regime. Unfortunately, in our country the opposition, and politics in general, have not yet reached such a level, for various reasons on which I do not now want to dwell. As for Mihai Botez, I am familiar with his activities and his stance against the Ceausescu system. I also learned with interest that he is willing to contribute in one form or another to the democratic process in our country. I do not think that Mihai Botez needs an invitation to come home.

[11 Aug p 3]

[Buhoiu] I want to tell you that before I left Los Angeles, I was told by Mr. Mircea Ioanitiu—who 45 years ago was King Michael's private secretary—that the highschool class of 1940 want to organize a reunion in Bucharest. Former King Michael was one of that year's graduates. Is there any impediment against the royal family participating in that reunion in the fall? In an interview given three years ago for "The Universe" [presumably Radio Free Europe program], former King Michael told us that he would like to participate in any way in Romania's reconstruction when the day comes. In view of the fact that he is the only former head of state from World War II still living and that he belongs to our national history, would you be willing to meet with him, should he come on a visit to Bucharest?

[Iliescu] I do not think there is any impediment against the reunion you mentioned or against former King Michael attending. In fact, we always said that the former sovereign can come to Romania any time as a private person. The controversy concerning the visit planned for last spring came about because of reasons that are known and that would have given the visit a pronounced political character. We hope that in the future, the establishment of our new constitutional and institutional framework will spare us such circumstances that we cannot always estimate at their true dimensions. Anyway, a possible visit by ex-King Michael for the purpose you spoke of, is possible.

[Buhoiu] Many of our readers are concerned about the violent events that occurred in Bucharest on 13, 14, and 15 June. Why has the result of the investigations still not been released now, one month later, and why were the reasons, the responsible parties, and their punishments not been determined? Some foreign newspapers directly criticized you because, instead of relying on the forces of order, you summoned the miners to Bucharest on 14 June. Was that your last resort? And if so, how did the situation come to that? At the time when you thanked the miners for having come to Bucharest, were you aware of the fact that they had ransacked the offices of certain newspapers, of the acts of violence perpetrated at some university buildings, and the harsh street scenes?

[Iliescu] The causes and circumstances that generated and incited the dramatic events of 13-15 June will be fully clarified, we hope, by the judicial inquiry and that of the parliamentary commission. Why not earlier? It must not be forgotten that it was immediately after the elections, when the Parliament had only just begun its activities. There are still certain objective difficulties about preparing the files and collecting proofs and testimonies.

Anyway, I want to stress that the 14-15 June events should not be separated, as has frequently been done for ulterior motives, from those that occurred on the 13th and that were at the origin of everything that happened. Because, after all, that's what we're talking about: the link between cause and effect, even though the subsequent reaction led to the perpetration of decidedly regrettable excesses. In their form, violence, and the fanaticism exhibited by those who were acting against certain vital state institutions, the 13 June events reminded those of my generation and older of the Iron Guard rebellion of 1941. In fact, they also exhibited specific elements such as clothes, insignia, and markings of a fascist inspiration.

Consequently, it was not the miners who initiated the violence in Bucharest. It is obvious that the 13 June actions—the true cause of what followed—were part and parcel of a more extensive series of such actions planned for the obvious purpose of destabilizing the political situation in the country. The same happened on 12 and 28 January, on 18 February, during the electoral campaign, and also after the elections, i.e., after the electorate, the people, clearly indicated their option and the Parliament began its work. We had just opened the sessions in the two Houses and, instead of being able to establish the newly elected bodies—the Parliament and the institution of the presidency—and to form the new government, we were faced with a new act of violence by forces interested in preventing the normalization of our life. I hope that in the end everything will be clarified because what is involved here is undoubtedly something much bigger, in which both internal and foreign forces are implicated. This was a well thought out, professional scenario with long-term repercussions and profound implications!

Thus, while deploring the excesses committed on 14 and 15 June, we must not forget the true causes at the origin of the events. Unfortunately, this is precisely what happened, to a large extent, in the foreign press because of obvious partial and unilateral reporting.

Along this line, frequent accusations have been leveled about the arrival of the miners in Bucharest. Why did they come? Simply because people were worried about what they had seen on television, by the violence and visceral outbursts they were watching. So they came to assist the officials in charge of order, some had already come the evening of 13 June; many were citizens of Bucharest and neighboring cities (one of the victims was a worker from Ploiesti, who was stabbed in the yard of the television station). The miners came only in the morning of the 14th. We did not summon the miners. When I appeared on television late in the evening, once broadcasting was resumed after being interrupted by the violent elements who burst inside and had to be removed, the miners had already left. Why did law enforcement officials and the Army not intervene from the start? To answer that, I have to once again remind you of our special situation and of the moral and psychological crisis obviously affecting present Romanian society. After the dramatic and often unexpected events of December, these bodies developed a certain complex and a certain timidity concerning any more direct or extensive involvement, something that is completely understandable considering the fact that some units that belonged to them were earlier discredited. Thus, their abstention on 13 June is easy to understand as a reflex of the complex situation I mentioned. However, the situation demanded that democracy be defended and that public order be restored.

I do not know how guilty the miners were of the acts about which you spoke, even though there were undoubtedly excesses and unjustifiable violence, of which we disapprove. But do not forget that, at the same time, they helped clear University Square of the remains of the cars burned there the previous day and restored traffic in that central area of the city.

[Buhoiu] It is increasingly being said that you are not informed about everything that is happening in the country. Are you aware of this great danger?

[Iliescu] So far this is a mere supposition. As far as I am concerned, I can assure you that I made and continue to make every effort to keep abreast of what is happening in the country, and of the events, processes, and phenomena that are occurring. Naturally, some omissions are not out of the question. However, I am speaking about an ongoing endeavor on the part of this presidency, which is still at its beginning and has to contend with particularly complex internal conditions inherited from the dictatorship. On the other hand, you must not ignore the fact that we are now in a new situation, in which the powers have been separated, and in which it is no longer either necessary or possible that everything should be decided by a single person or institution.

[Buhoiu] What do you think of a slogan like, "We do not think, we work?"

[Iliescu] That slogan was circulated by people interested in creating all kinds of schisms and artificial divisions in our society and in inciting certain social classes against others. My very clear aspiration—which in fact is in accordance with the provisions of the electoral law—is to be a factor of mediation and equilibrium among all the political and social forces involved in the rebirth of the country. I think that, above and beyond the naturally very diverse political orientations and differences of programs and options, there exist a series of major objectives and requirements of a national interest, which should constitute a platform of joint action by all those interested in the progress of Romanian society. I am referring to the very basic changes that have to be made in the country in political, economic, and social areas. Along this line, the entire intelligentsia is called upon to play a very extensive role concerning the processes of socioeconomic development, promoting modern management in industry, agriculture, and social life at micro- and macrolevels, developing democracy and a civic-minded society, enriching our spiritual life, and promoting humanistic values as perennial and fundamental values. This is something that I stressed more than once.

In this respect I believe that there exist sufficient points of contact for an extensive and constructive dialogue between the authorities and the Romanian intellectuals, with all due respect for differences of opinion and preferences.

[Buhoiu] You always presented yourself as the man of dialogue. What stopped you, nevertheless, from having a dialogue with the University Square demonstrators?

[Iliescu] In the past few months I have often spoken about the University Square demonstration. From the very beginning that was a motley crowd, which later degenerated into a source of tension and moral pollution. Unfortunately, people attempted to use and manipulate it for political purposes, which evidently complicated the situation. Had there been a political action staged by people with honest intentions who had something to say, it would have been easier to find a common ground for dialogue or a channel of communication. But the situation was revealed as something different. As you know, some attempts were nevertheless made to establish contact with the demonstrators in the Square. That is when we discovered that there was no one to talk to. What conclusion could we draw from that? Naturally, that the entire action had been planned for that purpose, namely to keep us in permanent tension and to maintain a hotbed of disruption in the middle of the capital city, designed to prove the inability of the bodies of public order to ensure the peace and normal life of the city.

In fact, the people there rejected any kind of dialogue. Moreover, when repeated attempts were made to establish real contacts, it became clear that those who were asking for a dialogue did not have any real influence on the crowds in the Square. So what could we do? Prior to the elections the demonstration had clear electoral purposes, but after that, when the ballot booths had their say, it became all the more destructive and anachronistic. Nevertheless, new contacts were established with those who were still there. There were negotiations on 11 June, when the strikers' only remaining objective was to get an independent television station. They were given every explanation concerning the government's stand on both the opportunity of privatization in the area of television and technical, practical operating considerations, and the participants said they were going to stop the hunger strike. In spite of all that, two groups represented in the Square, whose stated reason for being there was only solidarity with the strikers, said that there was no point in their talking with the government. Moreover, on 12 June they even issued an ultimatum to the government, demanding that it resign. I ask you: What kind of dialogue was still possible? In those conditions it became necessary to stop the illegal action in the Square and to reestablish normal traffic. In the morning of 13 June the measures taken to clear the Square were relatively peaceful. Later, however, violence erupted and there were acts of destruction and vandalism engineered according to a well-planned scenario.

[Buhoiu] How do you explain the fact that at this difficult time, some of yesterday's dissidents, brilliant intellectuals or journalists, do not support the idea of foreign aid for Romania? Do you think that there still exist points of contact for an extensive and constructive dialogue between the authorities and the Romanian intelligentsia?

[Iliescu] One of the profoundly negative traits of the current political situation in Romania is that, as you said, some of yesterday's dissidents, reputable journalists or intellectuals, do not support the idea of foreign economic aid for Romania. Unfortunately, this contributes to exacerbating frequent misunderstandings about the difficult and complex situation in which we found ourselves after the fall of the totalitarian regime. I think that such inappropriate interventions are another manifestation of the psychological and moral crisis of the present Romanian society, of fear, and groundless suspicion. But we hope that we will be able to overcome such difficulties. We hope that it will soon become clear that our option for democracy is a profound and fundamental option generated by the objective needs of our society. Once this is understood, the object of the groundless fears concerning the fate of democracy in Romania will disappear. In fact, there is no alternative. By working to deepen the path of democracy in our society, for a basic economic reform, and for consolidating the new political institutions, we in fact fulfill the mandate we received at the elections. The people themselves would not forgive us if we deviated from this path! In foreign matters, according to our program, this implies a wide opening toward the world, primarily toward the other European countries, with which we want to actively cooperate in keeping with our common interests and purposes. And we understand quite well that this cannot be achieved unless we have internal democracy and greater economic efficiency.

We needed and we continue to need understanding and many-sided support in this respect as well as for realizing our democratic goal, which is not in the least a conjunctural option, but a decisive, fundamental, and long-term choice.

We want to establish a broader and constructive dialogue with Romanians residing outside our borders; we want to build more lasting and permanent bridges for contacts and understanding and we hope to receive more active support from Romanian emigres.

For our part, we will do our best to establish and facilitiate such natural relations for them with their native land.

[Buhoiu] Mr. President, I want to end by quoting our ancestors: "With God's help!" We wish you good health and the strength to overcome these difficulties and maybe even to struggle against yourself to give up some positions and accept others, so that you can really become the "President of All Romanians."

Government Officials Taken Hostage, Released

AU0609082890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Having learned that Deputy Augustin Botis and [name indistinct], who are authorized representatives of the government, were today, 5 September, taken hostage by a group of citizens in the village of Sapinta [in Maramures County, northern Romania], the presidents of the Senate and of the Deputies Assembly of the Romanian Parliament call on these citizens to free the hostages immediately. Deputy Augustin Botis and Deputy [name indistinct] were in that area on a mission they had voluntarily undertaken with the agreement of the leadership of the National Salvation Front and the National Liberal Party, respectively, to attempt to settle a local conflict, which has been disturbing the public order and peace for several weeks.

This inadmissible and irresponsible action is all the more abominable because it is directed against deputies elected by the people or authorized representatives of the government. Such an action is alien to the Romanian traditions and to the most elementary norms of a democratic life. In the event the call to reason does not meet with an immediate response, the presidents of the Senate and of the Deputies Assembly call on the government to take all the necessary measures to free the two hostages.

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0400 GMT on 6 September 1990 reports the following Police Department announcement: "The two parliamentarians, held hostage in the village of Sapinta, were freed last night without police intervention. At the moment they are at the Sighetu Marmatiei Police Headquarters, where they are meeting with members of the commission that is in charge of investigating the situation there. Currently, the atmosphere in the village of Sapinta is calm. The national road, however, continues to be blocked. The issues discussed in Sapinta with the two deputies will be made known to the public today after the two deputies' return to Baia Mare."]

Original National Peasants Party Set Up Again

AU0409073190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 30 Aug 90 p 3

[Communique issued by the Provisional Steering Committee of the National Peasants Party; date not given: "A New National Peasants Party"]

[Text] A communique issued on the refounding of the original National Peasants Party was sent to ROMPRES to be published.

Examining the activity of the leadership of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd] in the 24 December 1989-16 August 1990 period, we, the signatories of this communique, have arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The PNT-cd leadership does not possess the legitimacy lent by the principle of several candidates and of secret ballot as an expression of the desire of the PNT-cd members.

2. The PNT-cd leadership has placed itself at the helm of the party by employing the method of self-election, a fact that is at variance with democratic values, thus practicing extremist totalitarianism.

This procedure has given birth to great dissatisfaction within the party.

3. It categorically rejects cooperating in the sense of reorganizing the leadership as proposed by us—that is, with the participation of the younger generations from among the ranks of the intellectuals, workers, and peasants.

4. It refuses to focus on current sociopolitical needs and requirements, thus it is absorbed by political esotericism.

5. It is deliberately managing and administering the tremendous values and goods inefficiently, a fact that has led to the current economic situation.

6. The PNT-cd has completely lost its social credibility, and this has had serious consequences leading to the break of the unity in both the capital and throughout the country.

7. It has adopted the decisions made by the PNT-cd on 16 August 1990, decisions which once again prove the disregard and violation of the democratic principles by making use of similar totalitarianism as the one used by the former dictatorship.

For all these serious reasons, we, the signatories of this communique, in agreement with the sentiments of all PNT-cd members representing all generations, who are familiar with and respect the doctrine and ideology of the former National Peasants Party [PNT] founded by Iulia Maniu and Ion Mihalache in 1926, declare as follows:

Following the acts of deviation from the PNT political concept, we believe that the PNT-cd—through its definition and political practice—has nothing in common with the glorious original PNT, since it is fully at variance with that party's principles, a fact that has led to the dissidence within the PNT-cd.

Based on the desire and need to keep the political concept of the original PNT alive in the Romanian social awareness, a concept solidly based on broad rational democracy, Christian moral dignity, and freedom; completely adopting the proclamation that outlines human rights, as well as the recognition of equal rights for the ethnic minorities living in Romania, and promoting a peaceful political concept on the national-territorial unity of the Romanians, we announce:

The refounding of the original PNT founded by Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache, which has nothing in common with the PNT-cd; as proven, the latter erroneously laid claim to the name of the two politicians Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache in order to gain the good will of supporters for purposes alien to the policy of the original PNT.

The communique is signed on behalf of the Provisional Steering Council by Messrs. Virgil Lambru, Stefan Baciu, Engineer Gheorghe Dumitrescu, Engineer Stefan Rey, and Laurentiu Popa.

PNT-cd Calls for Union of Opposition

AU0609101590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0854 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/9/1990—In a communique released in Bucharest on Wednesday the leadership of the Christian-Democratic National Peasants Party [PNT-cd] makes again its appeal to all democratic political groupings, democratic unions, free trade unions, students' organizations, independent groups, personalities, to honest people of all categories and all nationalities to set up united fora in all counties and in the capital city aiming at their union in a national forum.

The communique welcomes the setting up of antitotalitarian fora in various counties as well as the National Liberal Party's decision to join that process, emphasizing the significance of the idea advanced by the Christian-Democratic National Peasants Party on July 1 concerning the creation of an opposition union which should become a credible alternative for the country's democratic leadership.

PNL Communique Calls for 'Concerted' Opposition

AU0409140590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The leadership of the National Liberal Party [PNL] issued a communique proposing the creation of a concerted structure (structura concertata) of the opposition. In this respect, the communique points out, PNL President Mr. Radu Campeanu has already contacted the following political parties and independent groups: the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party, the Ecological Movement, the Ecological Party, and the Group for Social Dialogue; details will be worked out later.

The communique emphasizes that each individual party, grouping, or independent organization is welcome to join the concerted structure of the opposition, if it agrees to the common viewpoints expressed. Likewise, each member group maintains its separate identity, since this structure does not amount to a merger or organizational unification, but rather to a practical means of consulting and adopting mutual stands on economic, political, social, and cultural problems specific to the current and future situation in the country.

PNL-Youth Wing, Cluj Democratic Party Merge

AU0509185590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1748 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—The National Liberal Party [PNL]-Young Wing, announces in a release issued to the ROMPRES that it received on September 5 from the Democratic Party [DP] set up in Cluj, the latter's decision to merge with it, based on the liberal political program, rules and economic alternative to the government program proposed by the National Liberal Party-Young Wing.

The committee of initiative of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing assesses the decision as an important step toward the creation of a modern and powerful liberal opposition.

Likewise, a release from the Democratic Party of Cluj shows that the DP has come at the conclusion that the desideratum of building a strong center party may be attained through unification upon a platform relying upon well-defined liberal principles, that should not lean to any extremist platform.

Moldavian Antitotalitarian Forum Branch Set Up

AU0309084390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0757 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/9/1990—Bacau hosted the meeting for the setting up of the county branch of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Moldova. Present were delegations of six opposition parties as well as independents who consider that democracy, fundamental human rights, fight against communism and any other totalitarian forms are supreme values of the Romanian society. The forum's incomes are exclusively from donations and selling of their own publications. The forum will have internal and international ties with various political and non-political organisations, institutions and groupings with democratic character.

PSDR To Join Confederation

AU0609114590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1046 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/09/1990—The Romanian Social-Democratic Party [PSDR] decided, in its general assembly in the capital city, to join the other democratic forces in the country to set up an antitotalitarian confederation.

Analyzing the current political moment, that party's executives underscored that the union of all democratic forces was a necessity for the defense of democracy and the instauration in our country of conditions guaranteeing a climate of quietness and welfare.

The general assembly also discussed organizational questions, especially those concerning the preparation of the party's national conference due in November.

Vatra Romaneasca Opposes Ethnic School Separation

AU0309161390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1459 GMT 3 Sep 90

["Transylvania: 'Vatra Romaneasca' Asks for Renunciation of School Separation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/9/1990—The "Vatra Romaneasca" National Union reasserted its support to the government "in eliminating the abuses made in education during the provisional period after the December 1989 revolution, which have led to separatism in certain schools on ethnic criteria."

In a statement sent to the "ROMPRES" correspondent in Cluj-Napoca, "Vatra Romaneasca" stresses that "such actions were initiated and supported only by the Hungarian minority, under the leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, although separatism in schools is a serious source of tension and social discontent." "It is only by learning together, in the same schools," the document states, "that children and young people of this country will come to know one another and make friends, laying the new foundations for a life in harmony in the old Romanian hearth."

The union also suggests the government to adopt a decision whereby the Romanian flag should fly on all learning units.

Zamfir on Market Economy, Pluralist System

AU0409165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/9/1990—We are faced with two relatively distinct tasks. On the one hand, we have to institute in our area of activity a new framework, specific to the society we intend to build, a society with a free-market economy, a pluralist, democratic society from a political point of view, says Mr. Catalin Zamfir, minister of labour and social protection, in a statement to the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER." On the other hand, he says, our ministry should ensure a most efficient social protection of the collectivity in general and of the groups potentially affected by the transition process in particular. The first laws we are working on refer to child and unemployment benefits, to trade unions, labour conflicts and strikes, to work contracts. There is also the law of wages, which should express the values of the new economic system, set on free-market principles, and which should represent the major instrument for our economy's movement along that line. Equally urgent are the laws of pensions and of leaves of absence. And until mid-1991 we also hope to work out a new labour code.

We consider it proper, Mr. Zamfir says, that the laws on working conditions, work relations and general problems related to social protection should be discussed in an as broad as possible framework to thus meet the interests of the nation as a whole.

Society Studying Transition to Market Economy

AU0509080490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0657 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—To help speed up the process of transition to the market economy, a society of studies and initiatives for the transition to the market economy, Ecotranzit was set up in Romania. Professor Anghel N.Rugina is honorary president of the Ecotranzit. The society's activity has a scientific and professional character, it is a non-government society and is not dependent on the political parties and groups, is open to relations with firms, associations, institutions, private and public organizations at home and abroad, including international organizations and bodies.

The Ecotranzit, through its collective and individual members—professors, researchers, designers, managers, highly-skilled experts of the most varied domains—work out feasibility surveys, system analyses, scenarios, designs, data processing programs, and gives specialty assistance in activities connected with the process of privatization and transition to the market economy.

Senate Discusses Trade Register Bills, Companies

AU0509135190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1310 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/9/1990—The Senate's Economic Commission discussed two bills: the commercial register and the draft law of commercial companies.

As the draft shows, the commercial register will include two registers—one referring to individual companies and the other covering social companies. It is to be kept in an office operating under the Chamber of Trade and Industry of each territorial unit. There will also be a central register, under the Chamber of Trade and Industry of Romania.

Until trade chambers are created in all counties, starting January 1, 1992, commercial register offices will operate under prefect's offices.

Enlisting in the register will follow an order and the enlisting tax, established by the Chamber of Trade and Industry, will be the same throughout the country the lawfulness and accurateness of all operations will be ensured through legal control.

* Minister Stoica on Inflation, Unemployment

90BA0289A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ion Aurel Stoica, minister of state in charge of quality of life and social protection, by Pia Radulescu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Radulescu] Although I was sorry to see that my colleague from ADEVARUL beat me to interviewing you, I will console myself with the belief that enough has been said about theoretical treatises, so I will go straight to practical matters. Hence, from your position as minister of state in charge of the quality of life and social protection, we deduce that you are in charge of all the other ministries, economic and others (since they are all involved in the quality of our life) and that you are automatically responsible for their shortcomings, too, from the sugar shortage to pollution.

[Stoica] Yes, virtually, in answer to the latter part of your question. But the reasoning is based on an erroneous premise or on insufficient information. I do not represent a ministry—because we do not have a ministry for the quality of life and social protection, nor can we think in terms of a body responsible for "everybody's happiness"—but a connecting bridge between the various departments involved in the matter, considering the fact that the quality of life is an objective, not an outcome.

[Radulescu] What were the government's reasons for establishing such a position, and what is its scope?

[Stoica] I can only speak for myself. I know that, among the profound difficulties of the structural and moral crisis affecting Romanian society were also the inherent inconveniences of the legislation, which in the final analysis had repercussions on the lives of people who had arrived at the breaking point. Thus, we needed at the least an incipient legislative configuration compatible with a market economy, in other words, a scale of values that must be taken into consideration when attempting to plan the quality of life. From this viewpoint, my function is to coordinate the duties of the various ministries—namely, the Ministries of Health; Education and Science; Culture; Environmental Protection; Labor and Social Protection; and Youth and Sports.

[Radulescu] In what direction do you seek to influence them?

[Stoica] Naturally toward a higher quality of life. We can, of course, discuss the conceptual aspects of this idea which are perceived by the man in the street as the elements of happiness. However, whatever the concepts, I do not think that anyone can be happy if his stomach is full but his mouth is gagged, just as no one can be happy if he is free but has to live on the miserable periphery of contemporary material conditions. Previously, it was being falsely asserted that the 'supreme goal' was to raise the living standard of the individual but the individual was viewed exclusively as manpower and as a means of production. The individual-economic growth equation was consistently reversed and brutally misrepresented.

[Radulescu] There are scientific criteria concerning the quality of life, but comparisons among countries are almost impossible! A Romanian can live for a very reasonable rent on Calea Victoriei, while a Frenchman cannot afford to rent on the Rue Rivoli; but neither that, nor the per capita number of physicians, and not even the per capita meat consumption are conclusive gauges. So what is the best means of assessing the quality of life in Romania of 1990?

[Stoica] There is certainly the economic standard—consumption and revenues—the purchase power of the leu taking into consideration the implications of inflation and unemployment. Then we have food consumption, housing conditions, medical care, equal opportunities for education, and not last, the quality of human and political relations, and psychological and moral well-being.

[Radulescu] What every Romanian wants is to live like the Swedes, have an industry like the Japanese, a democracy like the Americans, including, of course, a yacht like Onassis' or at least a little motor boat on a private Herastrau [lake near Bucharest]...

[Stoica] Which is not bad, merely crazy! Because as long as what modern sociology calls the 'middle class' lives in poverty in Romania, as long as work performances remain far below the level of other countries, and labor productivity is continuously declining, even the plus side on the scale of the quality of life is abnormal. We must understand once and for all that in order to overcome poverty, the growth of labor productivity must exceed that of salaries, otherwise inflation becomes the target!

[Radulescu] Immediately after the Revolution a number of life-improving laws were issued, while the moratorium was also intended to promote stability; what laws are now in preparation concerning our daily life?

[Stoica] First and foremost we must rethink the entire labor and social protection legislation in correlation and alignment with the conditions of the transition to a market economy—including the development of a new Labor Code, which is a major, long-term project. Of immediate urgency, however, are draft bills for solving labor conflicts, for the trade unions, for state allowances, and for unemployment. We now have approximately 95,000 official unemployed but there is also disguised unemployment which affects hundreds of thousands of people. We have social and professional groups which, according to the rules of a market economy, are utilized in a parasitic and bankrupt manner, and we have greatly exaggerated economic factors among the labor force. Exaggerated from the viewpoint of the logical relationship between salary, production cost, and labor productivity. Consequently, we need appropriate legislation to allow economic factors to become autonomous and to ensure individual social protection.

[Radulescu] How do you envisage social protection in the face of the obvious galloping inflation and unemployment?

[Stoica] Through legislation. The unemployment draft bill on which we are working will define the unemployed status, the acceptable duration of this status, social opportunities for professional retraining (if the individual was not able to do it by himself), and extending this status (when justified) in terms of unemployment allowances, paid out of state funds accumulated from taxes. As for the danger of inflation, a number of protectionist measures have already been taken, such as freezing the price of some consumer goods.

[Radulescu] Indeed, the government promised that for 100 products and specifically named three (milk, bread, and sugar), but what are the other 97? Out of an old conditional reflex, the people fear that the list will once again feature meat grinders, mirrors, and galoshes...

[Stoica] The list features three kinds of bread (brown, white, and 'Dimbovita'), pasta, white and brown rice, seven kinds of meat (beef, horse, pork with and without fat, etc.), meat products (salami, sausages, hot dogs, headcheese, etc.), canned meat, mixed canned goods (meat and vegetables), fish, canned fish, edible oils, margarine and butter, fresh and powder milk, sugar, potatoes, laundry soap, detergents, school uniforms and materials, books and notebooks, certain human medicines (for cardiovascular ailments, antibiotics, diabetic drugs, medicinal cotton wool, and eye medicines). In addition, the price of electrical and thermal power, heating fuel, heating wood, and housing rents will also be frozen, in other words, almost all the factors that are a constant budget expense for every family. At the same time, it is planned to change the pay system according to radically modified bases and new pay scale criteria, whereby a minimum guaranteed salary will be set for the entire economy. But this issue does not concern the period of the pay moratorium proposed by the government.

[Radulescu] And what possibilities do you see for protecting pensioners--who have fixed pensions and no other incomes—or those who are unfit to work?

[Stoica] For the pensioners, work has now begun on some bills which are mainly designed to solve the problem of connecting pensions to the inflation rate index and we expect to have some results by the end of the year.

[Radulescu] Speaking of the inflation rate—is this something that can be scientifically determined, or is it merely a topic of daily discussion? More exactly, is a certain inflation rate forecast, and can it be correlated so that the quality of life does not drop below zero?

[Stoica] The measures I mentioned are precisely aimed at maintaining an equilibrium and the government is endeavoring through all possible means to control inflation and its effects. However, it is difficult to speak of an exact rate because changes occur very rapidly and in a multitude of forms in a market economy.

[Radulescu] Knowing that and in the conditions of decentralization and privatization, what means do you use to keep your finger on the pulse of daily life throughout the country and of the changes occurring between one day to the next, one county to another, and one social category to another?

[Stoica] So far we do not really have many means of doing that. This is an operation that occurs accidentally and empirically rather than strictly scientifically. But I think that the National Institute for Public Opinion Studies can undertake this in a consistent and organized manner and that this kind of study can be really opportune and useful.

[Radulescu] What is happening to the remnants of Ceausescu's legislation that are still affecting household budgets? I am referring primarily to income tax (which is sometimes progressive) for families without children, whereby mature families get to the point of supporting state allocations for two, three, or four children? And aside from that, is any price protection planned for products designed for children, possibly through state subventions?

[Stoica] These belong to another group of issues concerning demographic policies on which the government will clarify its position after precise and long-term studies. Which I think is only natural! As for subventions, however, my view is that even if they are allocated and regardless in what area, they do not offer a means of resolving the crisis, not even temporarily. I have said it before and I will never stop believing that there can be no solutions other than work, no solutions but what people themselves, with their brains and hands can do. This may be a truism, or perhaps an axiom, but it has been verified by the entire history of civilization.

* Possible Convertibility of Leu Discussed

90BA0286A Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian 16 Aug 90 pp 2, 3

[Ilie Serbanescu article]

[Text] Both production and exports are declining. There are increasingly fewer commodities and services for the money available in the economy. Shortages of staples are becoming longer and more severe. Sugar has once again been rationed. The lines are beginning to reflect the real situation of the economy, awakening us from the artificial situation in which we lived for about half a year. The six-months pay rise moratorium requested by the government is not too well received by the trade unions, who demand a price freeze for the same period—something which in fact means that the reform must be postponed, or at least its major feature, namely the liberalization of prices. By freeing imports and not predicating them on export earnings, the country's foreign currency reserves have been depleted and new foreign debts are piling up. The political situation remains such that Western countries do not appear willing to include Romania on the list of recipients of economic aid. Although hastening the economic reform seems to be a must, the conditions for achieving one of its most important facets—making the leu convertible—show every sign of becoming increasingly remote.

While the convertibility of the national currency is viewed as one of the corollaries of the reform, the introduction of this measure is one of the least likely to happen: We will need years and years to eliminate shortages (and thus ensure the internal convertibility of the leu as a precondition for foreign convertibility), and the achievement of a substantial foreign currency fund to support the convertibility is more than problematic.

Allow the Economy To Drop its Mask!

There is, however, another view. The Romanian economy is in such a state that, if it is not forced to drop its mask and show itself as it really is, we stand no chance of indeed restructuring it and bringing it to a normal market economy. This means that the prices of the production factors (raw materials, equipment, and labor) and of the banking and financial "products" (credits, shares, bonds, and other assets)—in other words all the prices (the actual commodities prices, service fees, labor salaries, loan interest, stock dividends, commission fees for financial operations, and the "price of all the prices," i.e., the rate of exchange of the national currency)—must be set in the market through the mechanism of competition and according to demand and supply. In other words, the Romanian economy must be allowed to step out into the real world not only from the viewpoint of prices and employment but also from that of the national currency.

Linking prices to the market is the precondition for having a convertible currency, which in turn is the only means of genuinely linking the national economy to the world economy and compeling foreign trade, and generally all economic relations with other countries, to become efficient.

It is not true that having a convertible currency can only be the final point of the transition to a market economy; on the contrary, as the specific mechanism of a market economy it is the basic means of restructuring.

Asked why he believed that it was not possible to make the leu convertible at an early stage of the reform, one official hastened to list all the serious difficulties that would thereby appear in the economy, reproachfully saying to the questioner: "Do not you realize what will happen?"

Really, What Will Happen?

So let's see what can happen that is worse than what is happening now! The fact that there are not sufficient commodities and services for the internal volume of money available is indeed an obstacle for achieving the foreign convertibility of the leu. However, claiming that for this reason the convertibility of the leu should wait another few years means not only throwing over the economic reform itself—which is inconceivable outside a real, market rate of exchange of the national currency—but also indicates a confusion between two things. Internal currency equilibrium is one of the premises of the foreign convertibility of the national currency but achieving it is in fact predicated on the liberalization of domestic prices, whereby the prices can be set in keeping with supply and demand. A liberalization of domestic prices—which does not exclude influencing certain prices (but as an exception, not as the rule)—is either undertaken and then we have a chance for a real reform, or it is not, and then the reform will be only in name. It is, however, clear that the painful inflationary repercussions of correcting the monetary disequilibrium of the market will come as the result of the liberalization of domestic prices, not of the introduction of foreign convertibility for the national currency. In any case, as soon as domestic prices are liberalized (and only then), it will become possible to introduce the foreign convertibility of the leu. That it will result in a far lower rate than the current official rate of exchange of the leu into dollars, is an entirely different matter!

Objectively speaking, under the current conditions of the Romanian economy, introducing the foreign convertibility of the leu will bring about a dramatic devaluation of the leu (compared to the current official rate). Using the strongly devalued, market rate of the leu in business transactions with foreign countries—which must occur if the leu is convertible—will make imports suddenly and massively more expensive in lei, while the price of exports will drop considerably. Compared to the present situation, the production costs of the enterprises that use imports will rise; on the other hand, the outlay in lei for the same export earnings will drop accordingly, something that will make it possible to increase export competitiveness and foreign deliveries. People will be much more interested in exporting even more so if the supplier is authorized to freely dispose of a significant amount of the foreign currency obtained.

The net result will in any case be more favorable as a whole than is the case now when calculating foreign transactions at internal prices (which bear no relation to international prices); current methods of calculation enable economic units to simply ignore international prices and currency conditions, so that they can blow up the cost in lei of export products and purchase expensive goods abroad, letting the state budget suffer the profoundly negative consequences thereof.

21 Lei per Dollar and the Black Market

As far as tourism is concerned, the consequences can only be positive. The fact that trips abroad would become more expensive for Romanian tourists is not very significant because as it is people do not procure their foreign currency from the state (at the official exchange rate), but from the black market, where the rate is six to eight times higher and it is not probable that the exchange rate resulting from the convertibility of the leu will be more disadvantageous that the current black market rate. Foreign tourists in Romania would in principle stand to gain, but not much more than at present when they exchange most of their money on the black market rather than from the state. Nevertheless, hard currency earnings from tourism would increase and the state—which currently, at the unrealistic exchange rate of 21 lei for the dollar can anyway not compete at all with black market prices—can only stand to gain by collecting the foreign currency brought in by tourists. Not to mention the implicit effect of fighting the black market which will be positive from economic, political, and moral viewpoints.

It is unrealistic to aim at introducing an actual or extensive convertibility from the very beginning which presupposes the possibility of effecting international commercial and financial transactions in the national currency, as well as practically unlimited international transfers into and from this currency. If we had such a convertibility, the respective currency transfers would be open to both nonresidents (foreign companies and individuals), and to residents (Romanian companies and individuals), something that can lead to the transfer of large volumes of national currency abroad which in turn requires a strong and very competitive economy to ensure demand for it; consequently, this kind of convertibility is practiced by a small number of countries from among the most developed. But as a beginning we can introduce a limited convertibility.

Two Proposals

Thus, already in the first stage of the reform we can consider one of the following strategies:

1. Making the leu convertible in hard currency only domestically and not permitting it to be taken out of the country, i.e., not having an international convertibility

of the leu (but allowing Romanian and foreign companies that operate in Romania, and Romanian residents, to exchange certain amounts of lei into foreign currency);

2. Limiting the convertibility of the leu in hard currency only to certain (current) operations or certain volumes; we can thus limit the volume of national currency that can accumulate abroad and ensure its demand; while residents will be limited in the amounts of national currency they can exchange into other currencies, nonresidents can be free to exchange any amount they wish and since we are not talking about requests for excessive amounts, they can be met any time, and that is a condition for maintaining (and ensuring international recognition for) the convertibility of the leu.

In essence, from an economic viewpoint, both methods can allow us to obtain a real price (or rate of exchange) for the national currency in relation to other currencies, as the basis for a genuine alignment of the national economy to the international economy. Being obligated to work with that rate of exchange, domestic companies will thus be compeled to adjust to international market changes and to changes in the relations between the national and world economies. A governmental policy on the rate of exchange of the national currency is implemented in order to promote certain priority economic objectives at both the domestic and foreign levels.

One first step toward convertibility can be to organize official foreign currency auctions at which those who so wish can acquire hard currency. Such auctions can provide valuable information on the practical means and the best timing for shifting to a limited convertibility in one of the aforementioned forms.

The Key to the Reform

Introducing the convertibility of the leu is the key to the restructuring required to make our foreign economic relations efficient and competitive. In the absence of a realistic market rate of exchange of the leu it is in fact impossible to find out which export and import activities are profitable and which are not (and by extension, the problem also applies to operations that appear to be purely "domestic"). Meeting the efficiency and competitiveness demands of international markets would be almost impossible and the contribution of foreign investments would be anyway discouraged. On the other hand, if the leu becomes convertible, reestablishing our foreign economic relations on profitability criteria and halting the outward drain of economic assets through such relations will be achieved automatically through adjustment to market conditions.

In contrast to other East European countries, Romania is not handicapped by large foreign debts, something that adds a favorable condition for the convertibility of the national currency. However, this measure cannot be implemented without extensive foreign technical (expertise and consultancy services) and financial support. This latter condition implies important credits to guarantee the convertibility of the leu for a certain period of time.

It is possible that, for a certain time, the leu will continue to lose value even after the initial shock of the contact with the reality, but sooner or later, the order and genuineness introduced into the national economy and into foreign economic exchanges by the convertibility of the leu will yield positive effects along the lines of efficiency and competitiveness. Without a convertible leu, such effects will never come to be.

* Speculation, Dishonesty in Pricing Viewed

90BA0288C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 19 Aug 90 p 3

[Marian Lupescu article]

[Text] We unfortunately keep running into private restaurants, private coffee shops, private pubs, and recently even private privies (rest rooms), but miracle of miracles! There are no signs to indicate their privatization and if you ask who the owner is, either no one among the personnel knows, or they say, "it is the same one" (?!)... The law demands that every private enterprise must have a sign up in full view stating its name, owner, and license number, and that the legal authorization be exhibited inside (also in full view).

But there is none of that! Which I think is only normal and you'll see why. These units have been privatized only in name and for the specific purpose of raising prices while everything else remained unchanged. I am referring to the quality of the service, the impulsive and cheeky behavior of the personnel, conditional sales, etc. The personnel in these units is the same (or very little changed), the goods on sale are the same (and of the same bad quality), brought in from the same warehouses, with the same (state) means of transportation, and the incoming money is managed and the bookkeeping is done by the same people as before, in other words by the Local Public Food Service Enterprise, the Enterprise for Construction and Repair, ADP, and city halls. So, brothers, what is the difference between a state unit and one now called "private?" Only the difference in price? We all know that everything possible is continuously done to raise the prices of products and consumer goods, but this is too much. Now you want to con the people into believing that privatization means nothing but higher prices? I understand the behind-the-scenes maneuvers of the ruling political class designed to maintain its own line and doctrine but we hope we will not go back to making a mockery of people by imprinting on their subconscious a false image diametrically opposed to the reality! However, if it continues to be insisted that the aforementioned units (I did not list their names because I am certain that both the readers and city hall know where and which they are) are private, aside from what I said before, we firmly ask the government to take immediate measures to ensure that the provisions concerning maximum sale prices on their products are applied to those units, too, and that prices do not exceed the percentage indicated in the communique issued on 9 August 1990, regardless of whether they are state privatized or not! If they're called private, then Decree-Law

No. 54/1990 governs them, too! So these units should sell their products at the same 10 percent mark-up over the wholesale price, this being the price resulting from the documents of purchase from warehouses which must be the same as the purchase prices paid by private entrepreneurs. This way we will be able to easily figure that we have to add another ten percent to the price marked on the packaging. In other words, at such a state privatized restaurant (like Monte Carlo), I will not have to pay 12 lei for a bottle of beer on which it says six lei (as I did on Sunday 6 August 1990), but six lei plus 0.60 lei (the 10 percent), i.e., 6.60 lei; and for a 27 lei bottle of wine I will not pay 61 lei (but 27 plus 2.70, that is 29.70 lei); and for a pork roast I will not pay 120 lei/kg. (although it costs 47 lei/kg. at the butcher's), but 47 plus 9.40 lei, that is 56.40 lei/kg., and so forth. That's honest and legal, right?

Can anyone have the least argument against this request? I doubt it. It would be illegal! In which case you will see how the people will understand that the recently issued law was a good one. And since we are talking prices, and since this law was issued in order to eliminate profiteering, I will dare to point out that we must urgently, or rather immediately ensure that this law is applied to similar state units still unprivatized. That for the simple reason that otherwise the state will be accused of profiteering for demanding prices far in excess of 150 percent over the wholesale price paid for its products. The charge may thus be legal profiteering, officially approved by the state!

I want to end by talking about another great injustice, or even illegality. This concerns the price demanded from legally licensed private entrepreneurs, who are requested to pay retail prices for products they acquire directly from warehouses or manufacturing enterprises; this is a dishonest practice because these products don't have to go through all the commercial channels (i.e., transportation to retail shops, loading and unloading operations, sale, possibly returning packaging, etc., which are included in the product's retail price); consequently, the percentage otherwise paid for these channels which are now bypassed, should be deducted (taken out) from the price! Otherwise, very soon dozens and hundreds of legal suits will be filed against the state, in view of the fact that the procedure now used is nothing but cheating, stealing even, with legal documents!

If we want, we can be honest! (And we do not absolutely have to have Adidas Torsion but we do need honesty and justice.) If we expect the people to be honest then the leadership must be the first be give an example of honesty; the same goes for the administration and the government and only then can we demand the same thing from the masses who must have a model. We think this is possible.

* Sugar Rationing by FSN Deplored

90BA0288B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Radu Mischiu article: "Sugar 'Politics'"]

[Text] Announcement: Rationing will be introduced in Bucharest as of 6 August. Beginning with sugar! This is one of the first achievements of the FSN [National Salvation Front] party.

After the bill against profiteering, rationing is a natural consequence. Does not it resemble the same "sugar politics" of the defunct dictator like two peas in a pod?!

Which means that we follow the path to democracy and a market economy (as per the government's program) by resolutely pursuing rationing. There is no doubt left that this path looks like the unfortunate perestroyka which even its own authors are beginning to repudiate.

What this means is that on 20 May three quarters of the country's "honest" citizens voted for shortages and for the most "natural" and accessible means of combatting them: food rationing. Already in effect in other cities—where it was actually never lifted—rationing has now reached the capital city, too.

This measure contradicts even the gentle and wise ideologist and political scientist Mr. Brucan, who in the first days after the revolution had said, quite correctly, that in order to not repeat perestroyka and its failures, the food issue must be definitively resolved in Romania. And look how things developed...

That many solutions must have existed, anything but this, is beyond any doubt.

Previously, we could not understand at all why the former dictator went after people's daily life, meaning food and elementary entertainment (television, for example). That was first and foremost an enormous and grave political mistake. I interpreted it as his mental inability to grasp this reality—surrounded as he was by all those who loved him, including the power of his huge security apparatus—and perhaps as a sign of pure hatred of the people.

But the present measure, namely the reintroduction of rationing, is to me equally difficult to understand. Any other solution, at any cost, would have been inifinitely preferable, even if only for the government's own interests!

On the other hand though, this strategy is almost logical if we consider the political, economic, and social policies pursued for almost seven months. A policy that represented itself as pragmatic and devoid of ideological intentions but which was based on an ideology that could have survived only in Romania: neocommunism.

What we now have in power is a heterogenous group devoid of any clear bonds other than personal ones, held together by let's say mysterious links, and convinced or not but certainly claiming to be indispensible and the only one capable to do and to know what is best for our future, etc.

This group introduced itself as democratic but its actions were anything but democratic, since, among other things, it confused antigovernmental demonstrations with a coup d'etat and rejected both dialogue and the idea of an opposition—from the very beginning it treated the opposition as a reactionary enemy, etc., as something that must be crushed (which it tried to do, as we know), on the excuse of phrases like, "these people (hundreds or thousands, tens of thousands) do not represent the country," which has a population of 23 million, etc., etc.

Its sociopolitical policy consists of straining the country's real resources and is essentially similar to the Communist policy, which also exaggerated its superiority and great victories while the economy was on the brink of bankruptcy. One of its practices is to promulgate populist, socially attractive measures. At this point we may say that not the measures themselves are worthy of criticism, but their inconsistency, as well as the absence of a logical inner mechanism and of a reasoned connection to the real situation.

The economy and the economic problems are now like a rolling bulldozer. We are convinced, on the other hand, that any government that would have come to power after the elections—although, the way the electoral campaign went, the way public opinion was manipulated, the way the FSN behaved toward the opposition, and finally, the way the elections took place, even though that was apparently the smallest evil, only one party could have won—would have undoubtedly been confronted by the same problems. However, in contrast with the present FSN government, two major traits would have emerged (if this theoretical government had been allowed to govern): It would have had a certain strategy for achieving a free market and the process itself would have taken place amid an entirely different international atmosphere, something that would have greatly facilitated the situation.

Anyway, food rationing would not have been reintroduced. It is unfortunate for everyone that the majority of the Romanians did not have faith in that other option, under which, in spite of all the inherent difficulties created by the lamentable economic situation, Romania would have entered the world of European democracy at a totally different pace and in a totally different climate.

But the situation being what it is, the reality follows of itself.

The sugar rationing—and we hope that this socially painful policy will stop here, although our hope goes against market shortages and equally long, if not longer, lines—has been, as in the past, blamed on alleged profiteering. And from temporary, it became (and can certainly become) permanent....

Laws To Be Put Forward by Justice Ministry

AU0409170390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1457 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/9/1990—The Justice Ministry pays special attention to a correlation between criminal-law norms and human rights ideals, Mr. Victor Babiuc, Romanian minister of justice, told the newspaper "ADEVARUL," pointing out that a draft law on amendments to dispositions in the criminal code had already been submitted to Parliament. It is aimed at consolidating the right to defence in a criminal trial, in the stage of criminal inquiries included, at annulling the Prosecutor's Office's right to prolong the period of investigative custody, which, for 30 days at the most, will be decided upon only by a court and at ensuring the right of people in investigative custody to ask courts for a provisional release on bail or on condition that certain obligations set under a legal decision should be observed. Furthermore, provisions were introduced referring to the obligation of legal bodies to apply humane treatment to people in investigative custody and to refrain from applying torture or other degrading penalties, which are punished by the law.

Noteworthy among the bills already completed is a bill which places the General Directorate of Prisons under the coordinated of the Ministry of Justice instead of the Interior Ministry.

Enquiry Commission To Hear Jiu Valley Miners

AU0409092090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0828 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/9/1990—The parliamentary commission inquiring into the 13-15 June events will continue its hearings this week in two plenary meetings, stated Mr. Radu Nicolae, head of the commission. Also this week part of its members will go to the Jiu Valley to hear some of the participants in or witnesses to the mid-June events.

As Mr. Radu Nicolae also stressed the commission started examining the material gathered during the previous hearings to the end of drafting the final report of the inquiry. He made the point that numerous leaders of political organizations, officials and private persons, teaching staff had been heard so far.

The chairman of the commission called on all people that are acquainted with the events or hold evidence about them, as well as on the press organs that have materials about the 13-15 June interval to put them at the disposal of that parliamentary body.

Mayor Meets University Square Representatives

AU0509080390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0703 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—The dialogue between the mayor general of the capital city, Stefan Ciurel, and representatives of the demonstrators in University Square was resumed on Tuesday afternoon. Those present handed over to the mayor general a 13-point motion concerning their claims. Inter alia they declared against the closing of traffic in University Square insistently demanding the protection of the mayorship and order-keeping bodies to do away with the peddlers who distorted the real character of the demonstration in the square.

Brasov Trial of Former Communists Resumes 5 Sep

AU0509100190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0909 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—On September 3, at Brasov, the trial of the five members of the former Communist Party County Secretariat was resumed. The defense lawyer pleading the case of Elena Schuster submitted to the panel the conclusions of a medical expertise and requested that the defendant should be set free, charges disjointed and penal proceedings against her adjourned until her condition enables her to appear before court. Granting the request, the county chief prosecutor demanded a fresh expertise in three months from now. The other defense lawyers backed the request for replacement of investigative arrest by release of the other four accused. The prosecutor rejected their request. One of the lawyers asked for deferment of the trial until the physical condition of Defendant Elena Schuster permits, so as to prevent a split in the trial.

Government Views Monetary Loss in Gulf Embargo

AU0609161090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Referring to the Gulf crisis, Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Traian Chebeleu estimated the losses incurred by Romania, following the implementation of the embargo against Iraq, to be more than 3 billion dollars and said that appropriate steps have been taken by the United Nations, the EEC, the United States, Japan, and certain Arab countries in the Gulf area to compensate these losses. He also said that more than 2,000 of the 3,000 Romanian citizens working in Iraq have been evacuated so far. He also emphasized that Romania will not close down its embassy in Kuwait, because Romania does not recognize that country's annexation by Iraq.

Finland's Holkieri Statements Called 'Regrettable'

AU0509185690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 5 Sep 90

["Diplomatic Diary: Finnish Premier's Statement Surprises Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—On September 4, 1990, Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the government, invited Mr. Bo Adahl, Finland's ambassador to Bucharest, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the occasion, Mr. Romulus Neagu expressed the Romanian Government's surprise at the recent statement the Finnish prime minister, Mr. Hari Holkieri, made after his interview with his Hungarian counterpart, Mr. Josef Antall. He stated, among other things, that he was interested in the development in Central and Eastern Europe from several points of view, adding as an example that he got "highly valuable" information about the way in which Hungary sees the situation in Romania. According to the press release, the prime minister assessed that "the favourable evolutions in Romania stopped all of a sudden" and showed his concern over "the violation of human rights" adding that "with us it is much said among our public opinion about this thing, especially about the Hungarian minority."

Such a statement proves that the Finnish premier fell victim to Mr. Jozsef Antall's attempts of indoctrination and misinformation, said Mr. Romulus Neagu. It is regrettable that the Finnish head of government yielded to that attempt. We do not understand why the Finnish prime minister had to get informed about the situation in Romania through the agency of the Hungarian prime minister as long as there is a Finnish embassy in Bucharest and a Romanian embassy in Finland.

The assertion that "the favourable evolutions in Romania stopped" is quite surprising as it proves lack of knowledge about the situation in our country, about the rights the Hungarian minority enjoys in Romania. The Hungarian minority in Romania that accounts for 7-8 per cent on the total population has a party that holds the second place in the parliament, after the ruling party, Mr. Romulus Neagu stressed. Had the Hungarian minority not benefited by democratic rights and liberties, it could not have held such a position. Certainly, we still have problems to solve in the process of consolidating democracy in Romania. We endeavour to find a solution to certain situations inherited from the past or generated by the communist dictatorships in Hungary and Romania.

In consideration of all this, Mr. Romulus Neagu pointed out, the Finnish prime minister's statement is a great surprise to Romania's Government. His unsaying it would be appreciated by the Romanian side. Romania attaches great importance to its traditional ties with Finland. Cooperation between the two countries is required both by their peoples' community of interests and by the contribution it can make to building a new Europe. Any interference in these relations is detrimental to both countries and to the whole European process.

Iraqi-Romanian Friendship Delegation on Visit

AU0609115590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1048 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/09/1990—Now on a Romania visit, a delegation of the Iraqi-Romanian Friendship Association headed by Professor Khalil Ibrahim al-Latif, chairman of that association, met with the managerial staff of the Romanian League of Friendship with Arab Countries.

On the occasion the Iraqi guests presented latest aspects of the Gulf conflict and their Arab and international implications.

Both sides expressed their wish to further develop the relations between the two public organisations and to contribute to the strengthening of the friendship between the Romanian and the Iraqi peoples, between the Romanian people and the Arab countries.

Chebeleu Discusses Applications To Emigrate

AU0609195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/9/1990—Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, Foreign Ministry spokesman, stated in a news briefing on September 6 that the authorities that issue passports in Romania granted applications filled by 118,651 Romanian citizens for establishing residence abroad, over January 1-August 31, 1990. Most of them have close relatives in various countries and support their applications with their wish for family reunion. Of them, as many as 59,855 have already left the country in the above-mentioned period and the remainder are expected to leave after getting entry visas of the states they are to settle in.

Of the Romanian citizens who left for abroad as tourists, Ambassador Chebeleu showed, since January 1 till August 31, as many as 7,716 applied for and were granted residence in various countries. As for the Romanian tourists abroad, he said, about whom mass media sometimes say they remained illegally abroad or emigrated, we must show that the Romanian citizens are free to travel to whatever country they want and whenever they want and they may stay there as long as they want inside the validity time of the passport, meaning five years, with the possibility of extension for another five years. So, he stressed, inside the period of validity of the passport, one cannot speak of illegal stay abroad or emigration. Those among such citizens who want to establish residence abroad may apply to the Romanian diplomatic offices in the country where they are, for approval of their residence in the respective place, and after their applications are granted by the Romanian authorities, they are given passports of Romanian citizens with residence abroad.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman mentioned in this connection that, according to the Decree-Law no 7 endorsed right after the victory of the December revolution, the right of repatriation is acknowledged and guaranteed both for the Romanian citizens who are abroad and for the former Romanian citizens who acquired another citizenship and who may regain the Romanian citizenship as a result of repatriation. These regulations guarantee the repatriation and redemption of all political, economic and social rights, including the right to pension, as well as the right to be given priority on buying dwellings from the housing stock to all repatriated persons, irrespective of the circumstance in which they settled abroad. Also, the repatriated persons are exempted from customs duties for all assets brought from abroad.

The repatriation of 2,151 persons was granted since the beginning of the year to August 25. Of them, 1,753 are Romanian citizens with residence abroad and 398 are former Romanian citizens who regained the Romanian citizenship as a result of their repatriation.

Views Ecological Dispute With Bulgaria

AU0609195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/9/1990—Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed puzzlement as regards the way the Bulgarian party had reacted, through mass media included, to the ecological situation in the Ruse-Giurgiu area. Here is what the Romanian ambassador told the news conference on Thursday morning, September 6:

For having the public opinion informed, I want to remind you that, in conformity with the protocol concluded on July 4, 1990, in Bucharest, two joint commissions were set up by the two premiers, i.e. a commission of government experts, whose task is to analyse the technical and technological condition of the chemical equipment in Giurgiu and Ruse industrial areas and a commission for the Bulgarian nuclear-electric power station at Kozloduy and Belene.

The chemical industry commission checked up 12 industrial units in Giurgiu and 43 ones in Ruse, over July 16-August 15. The conclusions of its activity are drawn in a protocol signed on August 15, 1990, containing divergent points of view referring to the capacity of pollution of the sources traced in the two towns. Thus, the Bulgarian party asked the production of certain goods to stop and the investments for the equipment under construction be desisted. A revamping of Giurgiu chemical plant was also demanded.

The Romanian party pointed out several times that the equipment on Giurgiu chemical platform did not operate starting July 5, 1990, being stopped for overhauling, modernization and technology improvement.

Measurements made by Romanian experts in Ruse established there were 28 polluting industrial units there. The Romanian experts asked for five highly polluting units to change their site or to utterly modernize their technologies. It was also noted that a number of polluting units stood in the residential area of the town. The effects of that pollution are worsened by the geographical position and the climate of the town of Ruse.

All this was discussed both during the analysis made by the joint commission and at the August 30 meeting between Valentin Ionita, state secretary, Department for Chemical and Petrochemical Industry, and Svetoslav Genchev, deputy minister of industry and technologies. No understanding or common point of view was reached. It was established that on September 5, 1990, the two parties should put forth their separate points of view concerning an international expertise. The Bulgarian party did not come to the meeting that was to take place at Ruse.

The Romanian party has taken so far even more measures on the chemical plant at Giurgiu than those stipulated in the two premiers' protocol signed on July 4, 1990.

Under the circumstances, when experts of both parties have talks for finding a solution to pollution issues in the border area, the unilateral propaganda made through mass media and even the diplomatic steps taken by the Bulgarian party look like trying to distract attention from the real sources of pollution at Ruse, from the responsibilities incumbent on the managerial boards of the polluting enterprises there and on local or central authorities for taking the necessary measures to put an end to pollution.

The Bulgarian party's procrastinating the solving of the problems related to the Kozloduy nuclear-electric power station is also cause of concern.

As the situation of radioactive pollution at Kozloduy is quite intricate, the Romanian party asks the Bulgarian party to have an international expertise concerning the impact of this unit on the environment.

As for the Romanian party, it will make all efforts to find solutions that have in view the interests of both parties, starting from the exact situation of the pollution sources in the border area.

We hope that the issues mentioned above will be approached, all of them, with full responsibility, for seeking out real solutions, giving up propaganda before the experts' having their say.

Roman Statement After Talks With U.S. Official

AU0409210590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1937 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/9/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received on September 4 in the morning, Josef Gugenhaim, representative of the Marck Rich Swiss concern, now in Romania to seek out new opportunities of economic, financial and banking collaboration with Romania. They discussed modalities of cooperation in petrochemistry and non-ferrous metallurgy, as Romania is known to have great availabilities in these domains.

The same day, Petre Roman received Abe Foxman, national director of the anti-defamation league of B'nai B'rith, the U.S. [as received]. The guest stated on the occasion:

I walk away with assurances that the prime minister—speaking in behalf of this country—continues to be supportive of the institutions, of the freedom, of the religious freedom of the Jewish community. And I walk away with the feeling of assurance that the prime minister understands and is supportive of democratic processes. That's very important to bring back to the American people: That democracy is a painful process but certainly, in the words and the feelings of the prime minister, it is a process that he will do everything he can to move it ahead as quickly as possible.

Before I came here I spoke to representatives of our government and asked them about their attitudes. I was assured and told to convey to the prime minister that there was a desire to be helpful and a desire to be supportive. I think the record of the Romanian Government in the last month at the United Nations went a long way to show that there is a friendship and there is an alliance. I hope that within the next few months the movement concretely will express itself and help the most favoured nation treatment. To the extent that I have an ability to say this country should be given the credit, should be given the opportunity to prove itself by life rather than by punishment, I will do it.

In turn, Petre Roman stated inter alia:

I think, I am even convinced, the interview has been very useful. Mr. Foxman expressed some of the essential preoccupations of the Jewish community in the United States, both as regards the democratic process in Romania, the changes in the economic domain, and the Romanian Government's stand on human rights and freedoms, on religious rights and freedoms, including the situation of the Jewish community in Romania.

I have presented the process of democratization in Romania and have expressed on the occasion the Romanian Government's determination to remove any act of extremism, chauvinism, racism, antisemitism, etc., and obviously the Romanian Government's obligation to protect all its citizens against such possible acts, and this goes of course also for the Jewish community.

It is upon this basis of obvious understanding both of the preoccupations expressed by Mr. Foxman and of the Romanian Government's clear intentions, that we exchanged views on the way how the American attitude generally, the American administration's attitude should change, with no conditioning, we think, and without implying a relinquishing of the legitimate preoccupations for the more marked furthering of the process of democratization in Romania, I mean the attitude of the American administration, of the Congress, of the American Senate toward Romania, mainly as regards the granting of the most favoured nation status.

I feel that the various pieces of knowledge of the situation in Romania acquired by various groups or persons who have visited this country—two very important actions have taken place these days, of course, first of all the presence of a large group of American senators, headed by Senator Robert Dole, and now the interview with Mr. Foxman—will help the achievement of a dignified and normal status for Romania in the relations with other states, with the United States in particular.

Roman Meets Council of Europe Delegation

AU0309171590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1617 GMT 3 Sep 90

["Government Diary: Project To Assist Children in Orphanages"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/9/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received on September 3 at noon a delegation of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Council of Europe, now in Romania to analyze the possibilities of achieving a project of assistance to children in orphanages.

After the interview, Mr. Mogensen, head of the delegation, stressed in a statement to the press the understanding and interest they noticed with the prime minister and the other Romanian authorities who committed themselves to assist in the achievement of that important project. The concrete modalities are to be established together with the Ministry of Health.

Martian Receives Officials

AU0509201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—Dan Martian, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of Romania, met at the Parliament house with Jean Pierre Foure, president of the French delegations to the Council of Europe and the Union of Western Europe, and Roger Lombardot, president of the Europe Association, now visiting Romania.

During the interview, Dan Martian told the guests about the activity of the Romanian Parliament and outlined the evolution of the process of democratization of the Romanian society. The guests inquired about the activity of the parliamentary commission on investigation into the June 13-15, 1990 events. Aspects of granting Romania the status of invitee to the Council of Europe were also discussed.

Both parties stressed the importance of parliaments and parliamentarians in the process of development and deepening of the democratic framework in every country, of increasing inter-state collaboration.

Roman Meets PRC Military Delegation

AU0409201290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/9/1990—On Tuesday, September 4, Prime Minister Petre Roman received a delegation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, headed by Lieutenant General Zhu Dunfa, in command of the Guangzhoi military zone.

Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, minister of defence, and the ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Bucharest were present.

Roman Meets South Korean TV President

AU0509134790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1313 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/9/1990—The "Lucky Gold Star" concern of South Korea commits itself to cooperation with the Romanian relevant industry. In view is the building of fabrication lines for color TV sets (the major sub-assemblies being manufactured in Romania) and telephone sets, public phones included.

This aspect was tackled during the talks conducted on Wednesday morning between Prime Minister Petre Roman and the president of "Gold Star Information and Communications Ltd." in Seoul, Jang Ho Chung [spelling as received], who is also a member of the steering committee of "Lucky Gold Star" of South Korea.

Besides these areas, where the creation of joint production and marketing companies is envisaged, in view are also cooperation ventures, with South Korea sharing its experience with Romania. The more intense our cooperation in this field the greater our contribution to the development of our two countries, said Mr. Jang Ho Chung in a statement to the press.

Trade Officials Talk With Swedish Businessmen

AU0409181490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/9/1990—Talks started in Bucharest on September 4 between a delegation of Swedish businessmen, headed by Arne Olsson, chairman of the Swedish Committee on the Development of Economic Relations with Romania, and Romanian partners, representatives of Romanian Government bodies, foreign trade companies and foreign firms interested in establishing and developing commercial relations with Swedish firms.

Mr. Arne Olsson stated on the occasion to a ROMPRES reporter that there is a more than 20-year old committee in Sweden with the mission to boost Romanian-Swedish exchanges. The committee organized every time bilateral meetings, and especially it managed to facilitate the participation in the Bucharest international fair of Swedish firms.

As for the delegation he headed, he noted that all firms represented here had long relations with Romania and, although unfortunately they had been much restricted in recent years, the intention was to resume them where they were left ten years ago.

In turn, Aurel Ghibutiu, president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania, showed: We will advance concrete proposals to our partners and ways of development and diversification of the bilateral trade and cooperation in investments in Romania as well as modalities of setting up joint companies and of updating industrial compartments.

Ambassador Leaves Kuwait Embassy 'Under Pressure'

AU0709065690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Yugoslavia's ambassador in Kuwait, Hasan Dervishbegovic, has had to leave the embassy building under pressure from Iraqi soldiers and has left for Amman via Baghdad.

Iraqi soldiers surrounded the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Kuwait five days ago, not allowing anyone to enter or leave. Thanks to great efforts by our ambassador in Baghdad, ambassador Dervishbegovic succeeded in leaving the embassy building and reaching Baghdad where he told a TANJUG correspondent that such rigorous measures are being used to control only the United States and British Embassies in Kuwait.

Reportedly Leaves for Amman

LD0609223490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Baghdad, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's ambassador to Kuwait Hasan Dervishbegovic, who was forced to leave the embassy building under pressure from Iraqi soldiers, this evening left for Amman via (?Baghdad).

Dervishbegovic has practically been forced to leave the Yugoslav mission in Kuwait, which was surrounded five days ago by Iraqi soldiers bearing machine-guns, who barred entry or exit.

Thanks to the efforts of the Yugoslav Embassy in Baghdad, Dervishbegovic was allowed to leave the mission and arrive in Baghdad.

Dervishbegovic told TANJUG correspondent that such rigorous measures were applied only outside (?U.S.) and British embassies.

Only the janitor of the Yugoslav Embassy and his wife have been left in Kuwait. They are also barred from leaving or re-entering the building.

Loncar Thanked for Nonaligned's Role in Crisis

LD0609191490 Belgrade TAJUNG in English 1830 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar yesterday received a message from U.S. Secretary of State James Baker concerning the Gulf crisis, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told reporters today. Londor had previously received a similar message from Soviet Foreign Ministry Eduard Shevardnadze.

Bakers's "very comprehensive" message expresses gratitude to Yugoslavia as the chairman of the Non-aligned Movement for its role in resolving the Gulf crisis, Vajgl said.

He added that a special envoy of the Egyptian president would arrive in Belgrade later this evening with a message for President of the Yugosalvia State Presidency Borisav Jovic.

'Billions of Dollars' in Loses From Iraqi Boycott

LD0709191390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—"The damages inflicted on Yugoslavia by the international boycott of Iraq runs into billions of dollars and we expect the question to be solved on the basis of international solidarity," Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl said today.

Vajgl told a regular press conference that Yugoslavia had not been included in the front line damaged countries which British Prime Minister Margaret Thathcher said needed urgent aid. Vajgl specified that Thatcher's formulation refers to some Gulf countries.

He said Yugoslavia had informed "international institutions and bilateral partners" of the extent of damage inflicted on it.

Council of Europe Delegation Meets in Belgrade

SFRY Expresses Desire To Join

AU0609194790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Yugoslavia wants to join the Council of Europe, and its members agree to this. However, this does not mean that only formalities remain for us to be able to join. This is the basic conclusion which can be made in the wake of the meeting in Belgrade of the representatives of the SFRY Assembly and the European Parliament.

Spain's representative Miguel Angel Rodriguez pointed out that the Council of Europe is needed by Yugoslavia as an outside factor of its unity.

France's representative Jean Seitlinger expresses the decisiveness of the Council of Europe to have Yugoslavia join in if conditions such as the continuation of the process of democratization and greater human rights in Yugoslavia are first fulfilled.

Jovic Receives Council Delegation

AU0609194890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received a delegation of the Council of Europe which will end its visit to our country tomorrow. He said that he expected all conditions, necessary for Yugoslavia's admittance as a full member of the European Council, will be fulfilled by the end of the year.

Borisav Jovic briefed the members of the European Council delegation on the implementation of economic and political reform, as well as on the preparations for multiparty elections.

Requirements Expected To Be Met

LD0609191990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's state Presidency president said today he expects all remaining conditions for Yugoslavia to join the Council of Europe to be met by the end of the year.

Those conditions are mutli-party elections, rule of law and full respect for human rights.

Borisav Jovic made the statement to a Council of Europe parliamentary delegation which is preparing a report on Yugoslavia's entry into the council. The delegation is on a two-day visit to Yugoslavia.

Jovic pointed out the difference between real support to the existence of national and cultural for peoples [as received] and national minorities and the stoking up of nationalist separatism, which is specially important in understanding the complex situation in kosovo (Serbia republic's southern province with a majority ethnic Albanian population where inter-nationality divisions have been long standing as well as tense relations between Serbs and ethnic Albanians),

The Council of European delegation also had talks with representatives of Yugoslavia's National Assembly.

Delegation members Miguel Angel Rodriguez (Spain) and Jean Seitlinger (France) said in those talks that the council of Europe agreeson Yugoslavia joining it but that two basic conditions had to be met, democratization and the security of human rights.

Both Rodriguez and Seitlinger said they believe the debate on Yugoslavia in the European Parliament would certainly and unavoidably include Kosovo.

The Yugoslav Assembly representatives told their guests that Yugoslavia does not want to join the Council of Europe if those conditions are not fulfilled.

Loncar Calls for Help to Least-Developed Nations

LD0609171290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Paris, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar today addressed the U.N. conference on the least developed countries underway in Paris and pointed out a number of measures that should be undertaken to help these countries.

The measures should enable easier access to the markets where these countries sell their goods, realization of internationally accepted obligations concerning aid for development, aleviation of the debt burden (including writing off of debts), development of personnel resources and other important factors of these countries' economies.

The income of the 42 least developed countries is stagnating and in the Sub-Sharan African countries the standard of living is now similar to that in the 1960s, Loncar said.

Since they are in the crisis spots of all forms of social and political turmoils, these countries are becoming an essential problem for other countries, as well as global peace, security and stability, the Yugoslav foreign minister said.

Loncar recalled that the non-aligned and other countries rank the problems of the least developed countries as very important and are trying to help them although they themselves are in a difficult position.

Helsinki Delegation Views Departure From Kosovo

AU0609204090 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Armin Wolf report on news conference by delegation of International Helsinki Federation in Vienna on 6 September—recorded]

[Text] In the town of Prizren, about 100 km from the capital of Kosovo, Pristina, the fact-finding mission of the Helsinki Federation delegation ended in a militia station. On Tuesday [4 September] afternoon the four members of the delegation, along with two ethnic Albanian doctors, were arrested and detained for six hours. Their papers and documents were seized, and the delegation was forced to spend the night in a hotel in Prizren. On Wednesday morning, the delegation was told that it had to leave the country by Thursday midnight. Stamps were placed in the passports of the four people banning them from reentering Yugoslavia for three years.

Christine von Kohl, a member of the delegation and the Helsinki Federation's expert on Yugoslavia, stated in connection with this unprecedented act:

[Beginning Von Kohl recording] We do not know and we cannot prove it, but it is actually unthinkable in Serbia that a militia station in Prizren should be able to take such a step without the backing of Belgrade or even without having been instructed from there beforehand. [end recording]

Despite the Helsinki Federation's very critical attitude toward the developments in Kosovo, the organization has cooperated well with the Yugoslav authorities to date, the secretary general of the federation said today. Thus, one is all the more surprised and outraged at the treatment of the delegation. The Serb Government has even denied the arrest and the expulsion of the delegation. Nevertheless, the Helsinki Federation will protest sharply. On the general political situation in Kosovo, Christine von Kohl stated the following:

[Begin Von Kohl recording] The attitude of the Serbs there cannot be explained with rational arguments. There is a psychological mass hysteria on the part of the Serbs, a hysteria that is politically controlled; it is difficult to understand. It is certainly not rational. The situation there presents itself in black and white. Indeed, massive psychological, physical, social, economic, individual, collective pressure is exerted against the Albanian people in Kosovo —in a way that I tried to explain before; one can really feel it physically. It is as if one tried to suffocate a whole people, it is an unbelievable atmosphere, which has nothing to do with politics any more; it is a certain attitude against a people. [end recording]

Yet the Albanians react in a very disciplined way to the suppression, Christine von Kohl said. This was also the case during the general strike on Monday.

[Begin Von Kohl recording] The general strike took place in a very disciplined way on the part of the Albanian population. The motto was: Everybody stays at home, children do not play in the streets, nobody goes to work, maintain the important social functions. There were hardly any Albanians in the street apart from those who had to fulfill such functions or who were on their way home. On the other hand, there were plenty of Serbs in the streets. [end recording]

The delegation reported that immediately after the general strike, hundreds of Albanians were dismissed, although the authorities expressly denied any sanctions. It was stated that in the cities of the province numerous Albanian shops were closed by the authorities on Tuesday.

Government Spokesman Comments

LD0609205190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl, at today's regular press conference, reaffirmed Yugoslavia's commitment to the principles of Helsinki and the country's readiness for dialogues about these principles, especially when as important matters as human rights are concerned.

This readiness, as Vajgl put it, has been confirmed also in practice so far because Yugoslavia has been visited by many delegations concerned about human rights, and they all have been helped as much as possible.

In answering several questions concerning the controversial visit to the Kosovo Province by a "Helsinki delegation," as it is called, and concerning its alleged expulsion by police in the Republic of Serbia? The official spokesman for the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ivo Vajgl, pointed out the importance of ascertaining the facts in as sensitive a situation as is that in Kosovo. This holds good especially for certain members of the "Helsinki delegation" who alleged they had been detained and expelled from Yugoslavia, while the government of the Republic of Serbia, in its announcement, dismissed the allegations as false.

In Vajgl's words, neither the Ministry of Foreign Affairs nor himself in person are competent either for ascertaining these facts or for the problems that foreign journalists may encounter in reporting from Kosovo.

'Disciplinary' Action Against Albanian Strikers

LD0609134690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1216 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Pec, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Regular disciplinary proceedings have been initiated against 83 ethnic Albanian administrative employees from Pec, Yugoslav Kosovo Province within the Republic of Serbia, who took part in the September 3 general strike.

Local government president, Alexander Grujic, said that the authorities had decided to initiate proceedings for sacking 42 administration officials, while the remaining 41 would most probably be fined.

The ethnically pure Independent Trade Union of Kosovo called on all ethnic Albanians to stage a general strike on September 3 in protest against Serbia's policy in the province. The majority of ethnic Albanians responded to the call.

Rugova on U.S. Senators' Visit, Kosovo Situation

AU0709082990 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 2 Sep 90 p 4

[Emin Azemi, Blerim Reka report: "Where is the Mass Provocation of Albanians Leading?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

U.S. Senators Showed Great Concern

As on every Friday, the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] held a news conference the day before yesterday, which Dr. Ibrahim Rugova first used to express his condolences to the families of miners at the Dobrnja mine at Kreka.

Repeating his earlier demands that the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council should resume work, he told journalists about the brutality of the Serbian militia toward Albanians who came to the center of Pristina to welcome the delegation of U.S. senators headed by Robert Dole.

Commenting on the U.S. senators' visit to Kosovo, the LDK president expressed his satisfaction at the talks conducted with this delegation. The U.S. senators showed great concern at the violations of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo and said that they would inform all the competent officials in the United States.

Rugova also dwelt on the reaction of the Serbian press and the Serbian Government to the U.S. congressmen's visit, which seemed extremely primitive, because the world and Europe can no longer be imagined without cooperation, friendship, and interest in each other, especially in the field of human rights, which are universal and not within the domain of a single state. For us, he said, this is not interference in a state's internal affairs, as certain circles in Serbia try to portray it.

Among the LDK's other demands was for the new school year to begin as quietly as possible and for the Serbian state not to impose its own school curriculum, supplanting that of Kosovo.

He also demanded the urgent release of Dr. Hajrulla Gorani and Dr. Ilir Tolaj, because their imprisonment resembles a warning that other leaders of the independent trade unions and opposition parties in Kosovo will also be imprisoned.

Ibrahim Rugova said that we strongly condemn the excess in the village of Ternave near Podujevo, in which armed militia went to search for a supposedly suspicious person and caused panic among the village's inhabitants with their weapons and tear gas.

At the end of the news conference, the LDK president said that they rejected the demands of the Kosovo League of Communists and Socialist Alliance of Working People for the dismissal of Riza Sapunxhiu from the post of member of the SFRY Presidency and of Nazmi Mustafa from his membership of the Federal Executive Council, because these two sociopolitical organizations are defunct as political parties. They should dismiss themselves, as others have dismissed them, instead of demanding the dismissals of other people. Their demands are grotesque.

The People's Money for Pristina Television Confiscated!

At the LDK's news conference the day before yesterday, Dr. Zekeria Cana, secretary of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, read out a protest at the police's use of violence against citizens welcoming the U.S. congressmen. The lawyer Bajram Kelmendi, also a member of this council, presented disturbing facts about the illegality of the imprisonment of the Kosovo trade unionists.

Journalists also asked several questions at this news conference. One asked whether there had been any reply to the question of whether the LDK could register. Rugova answered that the 15-day deadline had passed. However, since the transcript from the LDK's founding assembly, to be attached to the other documents, had been sent two or three days late, we must wait a few more days, and then we will know whether the LDK will be registered or not.

Besides LDK activists, Agim Hyseni was also present at the news conference as a representative of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo. He told journalists that the militia had also entered the Philosophy Faculty and sealed off his office, room 42, and had cruelly beaten in their offices Branislav Milutinovic (even though he told the militia he was a Serb), the faculty assistant Shemsi Krasniqi, and Bedri Nishevci. We protest against this brutal act and against the violence used against Shaban Shabani, whose life was for a time in danger.

The LDK news conference also informed journalists about a paradoxical act of the "rule-of-law state" of Serbia. This concerns the confiscation of the funds of Pristina Television from the main Pristina branch of the Bank of Kosovo Ltd., in spite of the fact that the one-year agreement for the deposit of these funds, drawn up on 30 June by Agim Mala, director of Pristina Television, and Islam Zeka, manager of the bank, does not permit the funds to be withdrawn prematurely, or to be stolen in this way. However, this was done by the illegitimate Pristina Television management and Rusit Redzepagic, the bank's financial director.

A photocopy of the transfer document shows that the sum of 10,365,673.40 convertible dinars, or about 1.5 million Deutsche mark, was transferred from the Bank of Kosovo Ltd. to the Pristina Investment Bank. This transfer permits interference with these funds. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Court Studies Proposal on Kosovo

LD0509215590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has stated today that, following a demand from competent proposers, and on the basis of constitutional provisions, proceedings were initiated for establishment of constitutionality of a Serbian law on discontinuation of work of the Kosovo Assembly and its Executive Council and a law on actions by republican bodies in special circumstances.

After a heated discussion the court postponed until next Wednesday [12 September] the decision asking the court to order a temporary halt on issuing internal shares and bonds as envisaged by a federal law on payment of personal incomes.

At the same time the court adopted a proposal according to which it should write a report on constitutional and legal bases of the "Declaration on Kosovo" which was adopted on 2 July by a group of Albanian delegates.

Kosovo SAWP Dismisses Several Officials

LD0609172290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The first conference of the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) organization for Kosovo will be held on the 27 September, the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference decided at today's session.

The SPS founding conference will be attended by 264 delegates, half of which will be from the Kosovo League of Communists.

The session dismissed Baskim Sehu and Bard Hodza from the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium.

The written explanation of the dismissal states that Sehu and Hodza "subordinated their work in this body to interests of the Albanian separatistic alternative."

The session delegates were informed that the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium had dismissed three secretaries: Besnik Beglij, Rifat Redzepi, and Ferhat Ljuljani, who had walked out from the last session and had signed the 2 June Declaration of the Kosovo Assembly's Albanian delegates.

Zivorad Igic, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium, informed us that 40,120 people have been registered as members of the SPS.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Registers as Party

LD0609144990 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] We have learned from Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [Demokratski Savez Kosova] that the Federal Justice Secretariat has registered this, the largest and most significant alternative organization of Kosovo, as a political party with the right to operate throughout Yugoslavia. News about the registration of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance has met with a powerful response throughout Kosovo, with evident satisfaction among the Albanian population.

Deadline Set for Return of Arms in Croatia

AU0709123790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia has issued a statement concerning the Knin crisis which orders citizens to immediately stop any and all activity which undermines the legal order and threatens public order and peace. Such activity includes the organization of armed watches, the establishing of barricades, the disruption of traffic, and so forth.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs sets a deadline of 1200 [1000 GMT] on Tuesday 11 September for weapons and ammunition—which have, as the statement says, been violently taken or acquired in some other unlawful way—to be returned to the nearest militia station.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia announces that it will take all appropriate lawful measures, including criminal-legal and other repressive measures, if the aforementioned demands are not adhered to. The statement is signed by Josip Boljkovac, minister of internal affairs.

Croatian Presidency Issues Communique on Knin

LD0509223690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Croatian Presidency today warned about the unfavorable economic situation, especially the damage caused by carelessness, unrest, and meetings in some parts of the republic. A communique by the Republican Ministry of Information was issued from the session, which reads:

"The Croatian Presidency, with President Dr. Franjo Tudjman in the chair, today examined the government's report on the economic situation, questions regarding the legal system in Knin, a previous report of the Presidency commission for establishing circumstances linked with intercepting helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Relations, as well as information concerning the European athletics championship. [passage omitted]

Analyzing the situation in Knin, the Presidency expressed concern over the fact that military and other weapons confiscated during the recent unrest had not been returned. Likewise, power in the municipality is in the hands of people who refuse to cooperate in the search for a peaceful solution of the crisis. The usurpation of power in this municipality has assumed such proportions that a commisison of the Assembly's Presidium—which was due to visit the Knin municipality for peaceful and rational discussions on controversial issues—has been officially informed that its visit is cancelled.

The Croatian Presidency also examined the previous report of the commission for establishing the circumstances in which helicopters of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs were intercepted on 17 August this year. So far, the commission has established as indisputable that the Bihac military air traffic control had stopped helicopters flying in the direction of Ogulin-Zadar, and ordered them to return to Lucko aiport, from which they had taken off, having threatend "to send fighter planes after the helicopters, i.e., to intercept them, which is contrary to the existing air traffic regulations, and that the helicopters proceeded in keeping with the order.

The commission requested a meeting with members of the Air Force, who are quoted in the reports of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as participants in the helicopters' interception. After the talks the commission will give its final verdict and opinion. [passage omitted]

Croat 'Civil Defense Youth Units' To Be Founded

AU0609100990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 90 p 4

["E.M."-signed report: "This Does Not Involve an 'Elite'"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—As of autumn, voluntary civil defense youth units of Croatia will be engaged on the territory of Croatia in participating in the protection and rescue of people and material goods from elemental and other misfortunes and dangers in peacetime.

Zvonimir Cervenko, secretary of the Secretariat for National Defense, and Dr. Goran Lacan, civil defense adviser of the Secretariat for National Defense, spoke yesterday at a news conference in the city Secretariat for National Defense about the need for setting up these voluntary units. Denying some newspaper reports, Cervenko stressed that this does not involve the creation of any elite units or the creation of a "strange army" which some journalists had already christened "Tudjman's Youth [German word "Jungen" used]" or elite voluntary units of the Croatian Democratic Community.

As Dr. Goran Lacan stressed, the government of the Republic of Croatia—affected by a large number of fires on the Adriatic coast and great difficulties in extinguishing and preventing them and establishing their causes, and difficulties in informing the public of the dangers—has made the decision to organize and set up voluntary civil defense youth units as an additional force for a more successful struggle against this uncontrolled element.

The government has assessed that the broad population of young people who are not involved in civil defense should be incorporated in protection and rescue operations on a solely voluntary basis. Apart from that, these units could be joined on a voluntary basis by those young people (aged 15 to 30 years) for whom no wartime arrangements have been made and who are not practically engaged in peacetime protection and rescue operations in an organized way.

The voluntary units will include both sexes as this is not in any way a "male organization," Dr. Lacan stressed and added that voluntary civil defense youth units are organized on the territorial principle, in local communities and communes and, regarding their character and purpose, these are general-purpose civil-defense units. [passage indistinct]

Croatian, Serbian Party Representatives Meet

AU0609125290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Meeting Between the Croatian Democratic Community and the Serbian Democratic Party"]

[Text] Zagreb—Representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] met today [30 August] in Zagreb in the hall of the HDZ on Beciceve Stube.

As has been unofficially learned, the talks between the parties lasted for about an hour and the delegations were headed by Ivan Vekic, vice president of the Executive Committee of the HDZ, and Professor Vojislav Vuckovic, member of the SDS Main Committee.

The meeting between the representatives of the HDZ and SDS was held behind closed doors without the presence of journalists and so far nothing has been officially announced about the content of the talks.

Party Reaction to Draft Serb Constitution Viewed

AU0509205090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Almost all the more important parties in Serbia, that is, all parties except the Serbain Socialist Party [SPS], have many things to say about the republic's draft constitution. This is the result of the opinion poll Belgrade Radio conducted during August. What we did was broadcast stances of individual parties on the draft constitution every evening, allotting every party up to three minutes to present its opinion. Here is how our colleague Nebojsa Spajic has summed up this opinion poll:

[Spajic] Most of the 20 parties included in the poll made remarks about the way the constitution is to be adopted and about the powers of the head of state, considering them to be inappropriate to the proclaimed democratic principles if one assumes that the power of the head of state will lie with a president and not a Presidency. Representatives of 13 opposition parties pointed out that the remark that the constitution is proposed and adopted by single-party authorities and not by freely elected multiparty democratic authorities is not an empty phrase but a major problem. The explanation could be summed up by the stance of the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia—Alliance of Yugoslav Social Democrats that it is impossible for one party to prescribe rules of the democratic game that would suit everybody.

The opposition is of the opinion that precisely because of the way the Constitution is proposed and adopted, it suits only the interests of the party in power and not of all citizens. This can explain the fact the SDS who also took part in the poll had no comments to make. It is also interesting to note that second to the SDS in approval of the constitution came the Yugoslav Christian Democrats. Its representative remarked, however, that the Christian tradition has not been sufficiently included in the bases of the constitution.

In second place, according to the number of remarks received, came the powers of the head of state. More than one-half, that is, 17 parties were of the opinion that they are excessive. Thus, the Democratic Party even says that it is known who will be president, so the draft was made according to his expectations and wishes. The Democratic Party and other parties remark that the head of state has the right to a suspensory veto on laws, that he can dissolve the assembly at the government's request—and he himself proposes the prime minister—that he can impose a state of war, and that the question of the responsibility of the head of state is virtually not regulated, not even the question of what is to be done if he cannot perform his duties due to illness or any other reason.

Fear of too big, Bonapartist, powers are also expressed by the People's Peasant Party which says that the head of state can dissolve the assembly if, for instance, the assembly wants to revoke him and he can proclaim state of war if the people want a referendum to be held to vote no confidence to the president.

The problems of human freedoms and rights occupy the third place according to the number of parties which made remarks, on provisions of the draft constitution regarding that area. Seven parties, that is, one-third of the number included in the poll, made remarks about that. They admit that the freedoms and rights have been included in the draft, but also say that this is done only in a declaratory manner, because every article of the draft which is proclaiming freedoms and rights is followed by the remark that limits will be envisaged by law.

Six parties say that one should delete the word socialist from Serbia's name and three say that one must replace the term nationality. An equal number of parties oppose the existence of social property, while the (?New) Communist Movement of Yugoslavia is of the opposite opinion: Social property must be dominant or we will go back to capitalism and the exploitation of the working class.

Only the People's Peasant Party commented on the provisions concerning agriculture. It said that the provision according to which land must be tilled had been included in the constitution regardless of economic interests [words indistinct] Bolshevist and repressive policy.

Two parties with Yugoslav-sounding names—the New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia and the Party of Yugoslavs—are of the opinion that the constitution includes too many confederalist provisions, appropriate for an independent state and a member of a confederation and not a federal unit. They illustrate this by quoting the possibility for Serbia to proclaim a state of war and to carry out its international policy. The opinion of the Serbian Renewal Movement, however, is the opposite; the constitution pays insufficient attention to the confederalist intentions of Croatia and Slovenia and thus the possibility of a confederate setup for Yugoslavia.

Other remarks on the constitution were that: it fails to limit the monopoly of the party in power, its text is too long, as well as the fact that the state symbols not being freed from socialist and party symbols.

One must say that the representatives of the only party with a national name which is not Serbian—the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians—remarked that the constitution does not include provisions on national minorities that would consistently guarantee their collective rights and their place in the assembly. They also think that provisions suitable to the most numerous national minority in Serbia, the Albanians, do not suit smaller ethnic communities.

Finally, as a curiosity we can present the starting point of the Serbian National Renewal on the Draft Constitution: Apart from its other specific remarks, this party says that the question of the draft constitution is not at all important. They are sure that their party will win the elections and will thus be able to make a constitution according to its own program.

'Democratic Freedom Party' Issues Election Appeal

LD0509132890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—"The Democratic Freedom Party [Demokratska Stranka Slobode—DSS] is appealing to the fraternal Serbian parties and Serbs throughout the world not to allow totalitarianism in Serbia to turn into false democracy and to delay the introduction of genuine democracy." This is being stressed in an election declaration which the DSS revealed today.

The DSS believes that it is not only discord that is in evidence among the opposition parties but that there are signs of more profound conflicts between them.

The declaration goes on to state that the champions of Serbian totalitarianism, so keen on authority and rule, "have not just changed their name formally but have also, with the help of some discredited individuals hungry for wealth and glory, devised a monstrous plan for staying in power with an opposition created by them and to their own liking."

The DSS warns that the leaders of some parties "have overnight replaced their odes to communism and Broz [Tito] with a concern for the Serbian Church and the Orthodox religion" and that their current attacks on the ruling regime is only a ploy designed to cause discord between the Serbian nation and the opposition parties.

Slovene Government Halts Republic Defense Funding

LD0609201890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1720 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The Slovene Government decided at today's session, according to its press officer Branko Podobnik, to halt financing from its budget the activities of the republican territorial defense headquarters, including payments for personal incomes of territorial defense employees, The headquarters did not implement, in the envisaged period of time, the decision of the republican Assembly that the territorial defense weapons are to be returned to the locations where they had been stored before 15 May of this year, when weapons were removed to the Yugoslav National Army [JNA] warehouses by the special order of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

The Slovene Government cites in the explanation that the Slovene Assembly explicitly demanded on 31 and 31

July that territorial defense weapons be returned by 10 August to locations and appropriate storehouses, and in keeping with the defense plans of sociopolitical community. The republican headquarters for territorial defense implements the decision of the Slovene Assembly.

The Slovene Executive Council sent a letter to the Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic from today's session. The letter informs Markovic that the latest planned assignment of Slovene recruits due to start their military service in November is "completely different than what it should be, bearing in mind Slovene demands and the received responses", especially with a view to the recent meeting between the FEC president Ante Markovic, and Slovene Government President Lojze Peterle, attended by Deputy Federal Secretary for National Defense, Stane Brovet, and Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa.

The letter stresses that, according to the assignment proposed by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, no recruit from Slovenia would serve military service outside Slovenia. It cites that it was agreed in the meeting with President Markovic that a share of Slovene recruits assigned to start the military service in September in JNA units on the Slovene territory would go up. At the same time, Slovene representatives asked that this issue be resolved in the future in line wth the stance of the Slovene Assembly, demanding the abolition of exterritorial principle of military service for Slovene recruits.

The letter stresses that the federal secretary for national defense so far has not changed the rule book which determines the highest percentage of recruits who do their military service in their mother republic. The Slovene Government proposed to Markovic that the federal secretary for national defense be asked to alter the mentioned rule book and make a new assignment for Slovene recruits due to start their military service in November. [passage omitted]

Rupel Says Slovenia Favors Confederal Alliance

LD0609213890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2038 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Vienna, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The Republic of Slovenia proposes that Yugoslavia be transformed into an alliance of independent states, such as Benelux or the European Community, Slovenian Minister for Foreign Relations Dimitrij Rupel told a press conference in Vienna today.

We hope that agreement with other Yugoslav republics will be reached on this formula, which we now call a "confederation", Rupel said.

Rupel, who is on an official visit to Austria together with Vice-Premier Joze Mencinger and other Slovenian officials, said that the new formula of co-existence in Yugoslavia implied the guarantee of the right to self-determination, i.e. autonomy, to each nation in the country.

Slovenian Vice-Premier Mencinger emphasized the importance of promoting economic cooperation between Slovenia and Austria, especially in the fields of transport, tourism and small businesses, which is the goal of the Slovenian government delegation's two-day visit to Vienna.

The press conference was also informed about Slovenia's support to the realisation of the rights of the Slovene national minority in Austria. The support stemmed from the Ljubljana government stand that Carinthian Slovenes be considered part of the Slovene nation.

Slovenia wants cooperation with Carinthia in a number of fields and does not see the postponement of the visit of provincial governor of Carinthia Jotrg Haider to Ljubljana for October as a suspension of bilateral contacts.

Slovene 'Representation' To Open in Moscow

LD0609140990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Secretariat for International Cooperation and the international firm Slovenijales have agreed on the opening of the Republic of Slovenia's representation in Moscow, the republican Secretariat for Information said on Friday [7 September] [as received].

The representation, expected to open by the end of the year, will operate for a time within the framework of the firm's trade office in the Soviet capital.

ZSMS-Liberal Party Not in 'Shadow Government'

LD0509214490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—Jozef Skoljc, chairman of the ZSMS [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]-Liberal Party, today sent a telegram to TANJUG explaining that the ZSMS-Liberal Party is not part of the newly formed shadow government.

Skoljc stresses that the ZSMS-Liberal Party's club of deputies and its Presidium adopted the clear stand "that there is no need for the party to take part in the formation of the shadow government. This would mean that we would form a coalition with one or both opposition parties." The ZSMS-Liberal Party also holds that the idea of "a supraparty shadow government," as it is current portrayed by the shadow government, is just an illusion. Skoljc underscored that his part acts independently.

The ZSMS-Liberal Party will form a coalition with other parties before or immediately after elections, if the need arises. Skoljc claims that three members of the ZSMS-Liberal Party, mentioned as members of the shadow government, have expressed their willingness to cooperate constructively when there are mutual interests for cooperation.

Macedonian Assembly Adopts Proposed Amendments

LD0609214390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Skopje, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Following a six-hour discussion, the delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Macedonian Assembly adopted today the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Macedonia and the constitutional law.

According to the proposals put forward by the Assembly's Constitutional Commission, the Macedonian SR will have a Presidency and not just a president. The Presidency will be composed of a president and four members. The Assembly of the Macedonian SR will elect and dismiss the Presidency members in line with legal procedures. A president and Presidency members will have a four-year mandate. They cannot be elected to the post two times in a row. [passage omitted]

The adopted and distilled Amendment 58 reads as follows:

"The Macedonian SR takes care of the status and rights of parts of the Macedonian nation living in neighboring countries, takes care of Macedonians living in other countries, Macedonian emigrants and guest workers from Macedonia; it encourages and aids the forging and developing of ties with all them."

The delegates voted in favor of a single chamber parliament. The Assembly of the Macedonian SR, according to the adopted proposal, will have 120 deputies, and instead of the Executive Council, the government.

The republican government is accountable to the Assembly of the Macedonian SR. The republican Assembly could raise the issue of confidence in the government at the demand of at least 25 deputies. A demand was put forward that the government contains a significantly smaller number of members than the current Executive Council. [words indistinct]

Macedonian Government Criticizes Tupurkovski

LD0609141290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1313 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Skopje, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has sharply criticized its representative on the Yugoslav State Presidency Vasil Tupurkovski, who recently said that "legal state does not function" in Macedonia.

The statement was made in connection with a drastic water shortage in some areas of the republic and quibblings between some towns over the distribution of the already minimal reserves.

The government said that Tupurkovski's statement was "calculated to stir up distrust of the republican government."

Markovic Meets With Leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD0509210890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] Vice President Aleksandr Mitrovic and FEC member Stevo Mirjanic had talks in Sarajevo today with Marko Ceranic, Republican Executive Council president, Obrad Piljak, Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency president, and Zlatan Karavdic, republican Assembly president, about long-term and short-term measures for the financial reorganization of the Dobrnja mine and additional help for the families of miners killed in the accident.

Special emphasis was reported to have been laid on the realization of further investments in energy and traffic as well as agriculture and ecology, in which international financial organizations are also interested.

The leaders also discussed the activities linked with the consequences of the Middle East crisis for the economy of Bosnia- Hercegovina and measures for alleviating these consequences.

As far as social tensions in Bosnia-Harcegovina and the whole of the country are concerned, the FEC president stressed that the federal government will not surrender any part of its adopted policy and denied claims that the standard of workers is generally dropping this year because of the unjustified increase in personal incomes at the country's level.

At the end of the meeting the leaders noted the need to increase information propaganda activity in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the measures taken, and results which the Executive Council and other state and economic subjects are achieving in implementing the FEC policy in this republic.

Mesic Discusses New Post in Federal Government

AU0609125790 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, by Stella Bogdanic; place and date not given: "I Have Already Been 'Heading' for Belgrade for a Month"]

[Excerpts] On the 85th day after the inauguration of the democratically elected Croatian Assembly and the new republican government, Josip Manolic, vice president of the republic, took over his new position as prime minister from Stipe Mesic. The formal transfer of the prime minister's duties from Stipe Mesic to Josip Manolic is scheduled to take place at the government's session today. In his acceptance speech to the Assembly, the newly elected prime minister, Josip Manolic, said that this change does not affect continuity in the government's work nor any assessment of its first 100 days in office. Stipe Mesic is replacing Stipe Suvar as member of the SFRY Presidency, that is to say, the current vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

The unexpected reshuffle of these three people has surprised the public (although not as far as Suvar's replacement is concerned, because this has been expected since the inauguration of the new authorities in Croatia) as much as it has caused speculations, doubts, and questions, especially with regard to Mesic's departure to Belgrade. Does his departure from the vice president's office, through which he has built extremely strong authority and gained widespread popularity, mean a demotion, punishment for the already excessive liberalism and disobedience, or in fact a promotion and an expression of trust? Is Mesic going to Belgrade to help in "destroying" Yugoslavia, or to help rescue it? Is this reshuffle caused by events in Knin, or by disagreements within the Croatian Democratic Community? What is Happening?—we asked Stipe Mesic.

[Mesic] True, many people think that I was given the ticket for Belgrade because of the latest events in Croatia. Many think that hawks have won, and that I, as a man of the center, have been removed. There is, however, no connection. Everything had been agreed about one month ago. The idea behind my departure is that Croatia should help in the restructuring of Yugoslavia on the confederal principles and that it should be represented in the SFRY Presidency by a person who enjoys the trust of his grassroots. Suvar did not have that.

[Bogdanic] Suvar was criticized for not keeping in touch with the Assembly. Does this mean that in the Presidency he worked in his own way?

[Mesic] Let us be precise. Suvar only kept in touch with President Tudjman, thinking probably that this was enough to obtain the documents adopted by the Assembly and the government and to interpret them in Belgrade according in his own critical way. Since he was the man who represented Croatia's interests in the federation, I think that he should have been coming to the Assembly, and keep in touch with the government and the Assembly delegation in the SFRY Assembly. [passage omitted]

[Bogdanic] You are assuming your new post as a man of trust and with a clear vision of Yugoslavia's future. What is the future of Yugoslavia?

[Mesic] First of all, one must not be a slave to any terminological constraints. We must start creating a new model of cohabitation in Yugoslavia, because nobody is satisfied with the existing model. Let lawyers decide whether this model will be called a confederation or something else. What is important for us is that this be a union [savez] of states built on new foundations. Individual states would transfer to the federal level some jobs which we agree to be joint and which we will pay for. This is the whole wisdom of living together in the future.

[Bogdanic] Will the people in the SFRY Presidency agree to hold such talks?

[Mesic] It depends. We agree in principle with the Slovenes over a confederal accord. Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are also willing to listen. On the other hand, some people are still suffering from the old schemes and ideas that the old system of living together in Yugoslavia can survive. Unfortunately, or fortunately, if you like, the old system will not stay.

[Bogdanic] As vice president you will, because of the nature of your work, cooperate closely with President Jovic. How do you view his stands?

[Mesic] I disagree with many.

[Bogdanic] Could you tell us which stands you are referring to?

[Mesic] Actually, I do not know what his stands are when he is conveying the stands of the party in power in Serbia. It would be nice to know what his stands really are.

[Bogdanic] Many people, half jokingly, half seriously, say that "Mesic is going to Belgrade to speed up Yugoslavia's disintegration." Joking aside, what are the chances of altering the system in Yugoslavia by the end of the year?

[Mesic] The work on the new structure of the union of Yugoslav states will certainly start this year, but whether it is going to be concluded will depend on many things. First, it is known that multiparty elections will soon be held in Bosnia-Hercegovina. As regards Serbia—this is still not known. They are yet to start any preelection campaign, and they are even attempting to impose a time limit on other parties' opportunities to present their programs and attract the electorate.

[Bogdanic] By going to Belgrade you are leaving an extremely important and responsible post of the president of the republican government. Will this not affect its work and to some extent slow reforms in Croatia? There are some rumors that you have in fact been removed from your post because you placed expertise above the government's party purity.

Taxation System—In Two Years Time

[Mesic] It is true that the government consists of people from various parties, some do not belong to any. We have indeed been guided by professional expertise, just as I, after all, said when I took over this post almost three months ago. When the talks about the person most suitable for the SFRY Presidency began, there were numerous candidates and proposals put forward. I was thought to have completed the bulk of the work in the government. The republican government is now complete, the situation in the republics has been evaluated, and we have a concept of further development. It is now only the question of time when it will be adopted. As soon as restructuring has been carried out, with some possible minor adjustments, the government will be able to accomplish its job. I am not needed in it anymore. [passage omitted]

Why Did Jovic Not Receive Albanians

[Bogdanic] The events in Knin have caused much harm at the very beginning of our economic opening up and establishing contacts with the world.

[Mesic] The damage is immeasurable. You see, before unrest in the Knin region, I was visited every day by numerous foreign businessmen who were interested in joint ventures, investments.... After these events—nothing. The center of business risk was moved from Kosovo, from Serbia, to us in Croatia.

[Bogdanic] Could the government and the republican leadership not avoid Knin?

[Mesic] The government did not make a mistake. The referendum on political autonomy was announced and we could not have allowed it. This is now in fact a referendum of the members of the Serbian Democratic Party and its sympathizers. We have nothing against that. However, what kind of referendum in Croatia is this when the Croats are not taking part in it, only Serbs and nobody else. Who are the Serbs that they should have the right to hold a referendum all over Yugoslavia about something that will only be applied in Croatia. They are not a God-given nation, they are equal to everybody else, not more equal. If there are problems, we should discuss them in the system's institutions. A Babic or anybody else cannot unconstitutionally and illegally found an assembly and act as self-appointed representatives of the Serbian people. Who gave them the right to go to Jovic, to speak on behalf of Serbs in Croatia? Who authorized Jovic to hold talks with them without the presence of the representatives of the Republic of Croatia? I am not aware that he has held talks with Albanians, and Kosovo is a greater problem than Knin. These people think that everything in this country should be measured with criteria that suit Serbs. However, these criteria must be equal for all, Serbs are not an exception. [passage omitted]

'Alliance of Reform Forces' Meets in Sarajevo

LD0509181190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Youth Theater building in Sarajevo today hosted the first part of a founding assembly of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was attended by a great number of citizens and in which Ante Markovic participated.

A victory for the economic reform is a great chance for the victory of reform forces in the forthcoming elections, while a victory for this party in Bosnia-Hercogovina will guarantee a victory for all reform forces in Yugoslavia. Hence, Ante Markovic said, we have to stop all those who wish to thwart the reform. We, in the Alliance of the Reform Forces, he added, have to state clearly what kind of country we desire in a formal sense, and our program and relations should be based on that. This means we should opt for relations in which all citizens of sovereign states will agree on which systems will be implemented in the country and which no party will be able to bring into question by its victory.

The program declaration of the Alliance of Reform Forces for each republic, Ante Markovic said, should contain all special characteristics of relevant environments. Priority should be given to registration of individuals, but our party can also be joined by parties that identify themselves with or support the program of our reform party. We do not refuse a coalition, Markovic said, which we shall discuss before and after elections.

In the next 10 days a systematic organization of new forces and formation of membership, which now amounts to 200,000 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, should be carried out in every local community, village, and municipality. This will be done by temporary members of the party's republican committee, 50 of them among whom there are seven representatives of electoral areas in the republic. Members of the top temporary coordination committee will be the following eminent activists: Dr. Dzemal Sokolovic, Dr. Nenad Kecmanovic, Dr. Dragan Kalinic, Dr. Nada Sofranic-Ler, Emir Kusturica, Todor Dutina, and Mateja Tadej. In the forthcoming period, they will work on preparing the statute and the program declaration that will be adopted during the second part of the founding assembly.